MIKE DAVIS & NAOMI KLEIN ON THE CALIFORNIA FIRES

The Nation.

A SPECIAL ISSUE

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WILLIAM D. HARTUNG: THE TOUGHNESS TRAP

TRITA PARSI: A GRAND BARGAIN WITH IRAN

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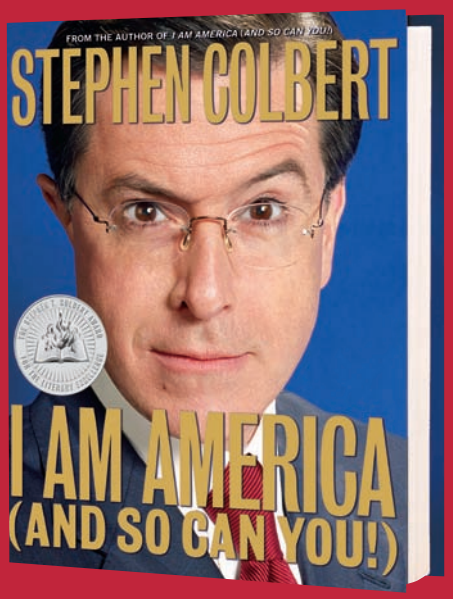

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Exchange

Hillary's Money Men?

The errors about me in "Hillary's Mystery Money Men," by Russ Baker and Adam Federman [Nov. 5], are countless, but some are especially inexcusable:

1. The very premise of the article is false. If Baker and Federman had called the Hillary Clinton campaign, they would have learned that I am not a secret force there. As Howard Wolfson, the campaign's communications director, said, "Mr. Quasha is not an adviser, nor in the inner circle, nor a fundraiser for the campaign. In short, Mr. Quasha has no role in this Campaign." In fact, I am openly backing Mitt Romney for President.

2. Shamefully, the authors use innuendo to link me to disgraced political fundraiser Norman Hsu. I have never met Hsu, had dealings with him or spoken with him.

3. The article quotes unsubstantiated statements by disgruntled Carret ex-employee Joseph Wozny that I went to former President Clinton's office "quite a few times." I have never set foot inside President Clinton's office, much less had a "meeting" with him.

4. My father, the late William Quasha, did not have a "close friendship" with Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos; in fact, they were well-known adversaries. Although the authors have no qualms about smearing people, my father led an exemplary life. He served on General MacArthur's staff for four years during World War II and then in the active reserve (not the intelligence community). As a lawyer in Manila, he fought for the rights of his clients against Marcos's tyranny. My father devoted his spare time to local charities, and when he died, he left all his assets to charity.

5. The insinuations against Harken Energy are false. When I was nonexecutive chairman, Harken's major shareholders were George Soros, Harvard University and a joint venture I headed; none had ties with "BCCI," "Saudi frontmen," "a foreign dictator" or "figures with intelligence ties."

6. Space prevents me from correcting other errors about Harken Energy (e.g., the misrepresentation of Harken's financial record) or the innuendo that the SEC's investigation of George W. Bush was terminated for political reasons. These are old accusations, long ago disproven in the public record. Similarly, neither the SEC nor any other government agency ever brought an action against Harken, and Harken was never sued, by anyone, for wrongdoing.

7. Renee Carret is evidently misquoted. She resigned from Carret Asset Management before we acquired it, because of her long-running dispute with its former CEO. I have never met Ms. Carret.

8. The article's statement that "Quasha & Co…also appear to be helping the repressive Chinese government keep an eye on its own people" is false. As an investment bank, Brean Murray handles many securities offerings; to say it abets repression by representing a private company in a small private placement betrays your ignorance. Moreover, I am not an officer of Brean Murray and had no involvement in the CSST placement. And, according to CSST's SEC filings, its revenues mostly come from commercial, not government, sales.

9. Terry McAuliffe was hired by Hassan Nemazee, not me. Nemazee is indeed a well-known Democratic fundraiser; my contributions to the Clinton campaign were made at his request, not McAuliffe's.

10. The statements about Carret's Washington office reflect sloppy work. The office was neither opened to lay groundwork for the Clinton campaign nor closed because McAuliffe left Carret. Instead, Carret (and other tenants) vacated the McPherson building for other space in April because of renovations. The statement that other tenants were unaware Carret had space in the building is mystifying. Carret had a nameplate on the door and was listed in the lobby directory.

11. Using vague quotes from former BCCI prosecutor John Moscow is inexcusable. There has never been any legal

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(continued on page 39)

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People Burn Here

The most heartbreaking sign in California can be found at Doghouse Junction, near the summit of fire-scarred Otay Mountain. It is a simple, chilling image of a family desperately fleeing flames. Anyone encountering the sign will instantly understand its meaning: people burn here.

COMMENT

Otay Mountain and its border-straddling sister, Tecate Peak, offer refuge to legally protected trees, birds and butterflies, but the militarization of the border and the recent wildfires have so defaced the landscape that it is difficult to recognize the underlying natural beauty. The views of San Diego-Tijuana and their entangled destinies remain superb, but otherwise Doghouse Junction looks like a NATO firebase in the Pamirs: a helicopter landing pad, occasional National Guard Humvees and ever-lurking *migra* SUVs.

The Otay-Tecate wilderness is Tijuana's backdoor to San Diego, now that the front door at San Ysidro has been bolted shut by Bill Clinton's Operation Gatekeeper and the Bush Administration's re-erection of the Berlin wall. From the perspective of immigrants, these mountains may seem an obvious alternative to the deserts of Imperial County or Arizona. The promised land of construction jobs and sweatshops is enticingly close at hand, and a greenhorn would easily underestimate the terrain.

In fact, the real choice is between furnace and labyrinth. *La migra* usually aren't crazy enough to descend into the treacherous maze of canyons and ravines through which the coyotes guide their clients. They simply park on the truck trails and wait for people to emerge from the shadows, like lazy hunters jacklighting deer. Sometimes they are joined by their unsolicited allies and fans, the Minuteman Project and its feral splinter groups, including a few gun-toting loners who permanently stalk the border.

Scores of immigrants have died in recent years, in various ways, but the most excruciating death is by wildfire, which can overtake its victims in a few minutes or stalk them for hours before they stumble, writhing in the infernal brush.

The border mountains are highly combustible, and on October 21, exactly as predicted by some meteorologists, gale-force Santa Ana winds produced an eerie reprise of the massive 2003 conflagration. Satellite cameras captured the stunning image of giant smoke columns blown far out into the Pacific. From space, all of Southern California seemed to be sending smoke signals to the moon. Yet only the celebrity evacuations in Malibu and, later, the mass exodus from the affluent, heavily Republican suburbs of northern San Diego County were deemed worthy of bold headlines in most newsrooms.

The Harris fire, in a largely blue-collar backcountry stereotyped for decades as San Diego's Appalachia as well as an infamous "corridor for illegal immigrants," rated only whispers and grudging end-of-article references in the Southern California media. Yet the greatest human tragedy of the week took place there, where the fire engulfed what has been described as a "migrant camp" and "undocumented immigrants crossing the border." Eleven people, badly burned, were hospitalized, and a few days later agents discovered four charred bodies. The Harris fire is now contained, but the remains of other victims may yet be discovered in the funeral pyre of chaparral.

The fire also roared into the hamlet of Tecate, killing one and forcing immigration officers to flee the border post, setting off a red alert. Several hundred Border Patrol agents and National Guard troops were dispatched to seal the border. According to the *LA Times*, "more than 200 migrants," some "smoked out of ravines," were arrested. *La migra* seem to have temporarily scoured the area of its

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long-established immigrant population, achieving the kind of ethnic cleansing for which nativists have long agitated.

If such a thing as a negative Pulitzer Prize existed, it would undoubtedly be won by the San Diego *Union-Tribune*, which headlined a "looter threat" when not a single arrest had been reported, then gave gasoline to Internet arsonists with a wildly inaccurate tale—later retracted—of Mexicans "looting" Qualcomm Stadium. (The infinitely more responsible Spanish-language LA daily *La Opinión* said the incident was actually a misunderstanding over diapers—although it led to several deportations by conveniently available immigration agents.)

The pain of the 1,100 or so families who lost homes (but, with two exceptions, not lives) in the largely affluent suburbs should not blot out the deeper tragedy of the Harris fire or obscure the trampling of human rights by federal and local officials. It is intolerable to think that the only monument to the Harris victims will be that sinister little sign on Otay Mountain. MIKE DAVIS

Mike Davis's latest book is In Praise of Barbarians: Essays against Empire.

Say No to Africom

With little scrutiny from Democrats in Congress and nary a whimper of protest from the liberal establishment, the United States will soon establish permanent military bases in sub-Saharan Africa. An alarming step forward in the militarization of the African continent, the US Africa Command (Africom) will oversee all US military and security interests throughout the region, excluding Egypt. Africom is set to launch by September 2008 and the Senate recently confirmed Gen. William "Kip" Ward as its first commander.

COMMENT

General Ward told the Senate Armed Services Committee that Africom would first seek "African solutions to African problems." His testimony made Africom sound like a magnanimous effort for the good of the African people. In truth Africom is a dangerous continuation of US military expansion around the globe. Such foreign-policy priorities, as well as the use of weapons of war to combat terrorist threats on the African continent, will not achieve national security. Africom will only inflame threats against the United States, make Africa even more dependent on external powers and delay responsible African solutions to continental security issues.

The US militarization of Africa is further rationalized by George W. Bush's claims that Africom "will enhance our efforts to bring peace and security to the people of Africa" and promote the "goals of development, health, education, democracy and economic growth." Yet the Bush Administration fails to mention that securing and controlling African wealth and natural resources is key to US trade interests, which face growing competition from China. Transnational corporations rely on Africa for petroleum, uranium and diamonds—to name some of the continent's bounty. West Africa currently provides 15 percent of crude oil imports to the United States, and that figure is expected to rise to 25 percent by 2015.

Policy-makers seem to have forgotten the legacy of US intervention in Africa. During the cold war, African nations were used

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Noted.

NOT NECESSARILY THE NEWS: Now infamous for its colossal bumbling in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, **FEMA** continued its reign of error October 23 when it staged a fake press conference to promote its response to the California wildfires. The agency announced its conference fifteen minutes in advance, and when—surprise—no reporters showed up, FEMA employees posed as journalists and pitched softballs to the agency's deputy director, **Harvey Johnson**. Meanwhile, actual reporters could only listen in on a telephone conference line or watch the briefing live on cable news.

Having employees play journalists is a new twist on an old theme for Bush Administration spin doctors. In the past, they've issued credentials to a gay escort, James Guckert, who was performing the role of **Jeff Gannon**, a reporter for the online *Talon News*. They've also simply paid journalists (**Maggie Gallagher**, **Armstrong Williams** and **Michael McManus**) to champion Administration views. So will there be consequences for this latest stunt? **John Philbin**, who staged the fake briefing, not only lost his job as director of external affairs for FEMA but was canned from a job he had been offered but had yet to start—as head of public affairs for the Director of National Intelligence. KATHRYN LEWIS

FRANCE V. RUMSFELD: In 2003 then–Defense Secretary **Donald Rumsfeld** took rampant looting in Baghdad as an occasion to ponder freedom. "Freedom's untidy," he mused, "and free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things. They're also free to live their lives and do wonderful things." Last week he learned that one wonderful thing free people do is sue leaders who commit crimes and do, well, bad things. While Rumsfeld was in Paris for a talk hosted by **Foreign Policy** magazine, four human rights groups took the opportunity to charge him in a French court with approving and ordering torture in Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib. They argue that an undeniable paper trail, damning testimony from former Army officials and the 1984 **Convention Against Torture** obligate France to act. Five previous complaints in other countries have led nowhere. If the current effort forces Rumsfeld into court, perhaps he could explain himself by recycling some of his classic quips. On what he approved, he could say, "I'm not into this detail stuff. I'm more concepty." On contradictions within his testimony, how about: "I believe what I said yesterday. I don't know what I said, but I know what I think, and, well, I assume it's what I said." On waterboarding, try: "Well, um, you know, something's neither good nor bad but thinking makes it so, I suppose, as Shakespeare said." PETER C. BAKER

A SOLDIER FOR PEACE: **Randall Forsberg**, who died October 19 at Calvary Hospital in Brooklyn, New York, in the company of her daughter, her sister and her mother, was a hero of the nuclear age. In 1979 she took the lead in drafting **The Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race**, which became the foundational text for the nuclear freeze movement that erupted in the early 1980s. No movement like it had ever existed before and none has arisen since. On June 12, 1982, it inspired the largest political demonstration in the history of the United States. It gave birth to nine state referendums in favor of the freeze and won eight of them, and it succeeded in pushing a freeze resolution through the House of Representatives. At every stage, Forsberg served as a prime organizer, inspirer and one-woman source of expertise.

Her leadership of the freeze was her most conspicuous accomplishment, but it was perhaps not until the movement waned and eventually sputtered out in the mid-'80s that her character stood fully revealed. Hard as it is to lead a great movement, it is perhaps harder still to stay faithful to the cause when the crowds, the media and the politicians have gone home. Forsberg persisted. As head of the two-employee (she was one) **Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies**, she continued to produce state-of-the-art information on military establishments and their procurement around the world. She possessed a soldierlike resolve and courage. When funds for her work ran low, she mortgaged the family house to continue it. If her stubbornness at times caused her to cross swords with colleagues, that same quality kept her steady on her course. If she had not been against not just nuclear war but all war, she would have made an outstanding general. Indeed, with her combination of prodigious knowledge, stamina and capacity for leadership, she could have served in any capacity in government—as Secretary of State, for example.

But her principles, including her loathing of nuclear weapons and her vision of ending war, led her in another direction—into work that, after the freeze, was more anonymous, less rewarded, less celebrated. Recognition did come. In 1983 she was awarded a **MacArthur Fellowship**, sometimes called a "genius" award. But the word, for all of Forsberg's learning, does not quite fit her. More striking than her great mental capacities was the rarer quality of her readiness, from early adulthood until the day she died, to pour her life into the service of her convictions. Forsberg's death took place, as all of our deaths must today, in a world still shadowed by the peril of a nuclear holocaust. Against the background of this engulfing darkness, which she fought with every fiber of her being, the memory of her life shines with a brilliant light.

JONATHAN SCHELL

HE'S NO JOKE: **Stephen Colbert** had better watch out: the fake newsman might have a real presidential candidacy on his hands. It is no surprise that "1,000,000 Strong for Stephen T. Colbert" is now the most popular political group on Facebook—far surpassing **Barack Obama** and **Ron Paul**. What's even more telling is that the host of Comedy Central's *Colbert Report*, who announced his "not my mother's favorite son" candidacy in mid-October, is now polling at 2.3 percent nationwide among likely Democratic primary voters surveyed by Public Opinion Strategies. That puts Colbert ahead of three "serious" Democratic contenders: **Bill Richardson**, **Dennis Kucinich** and **Mike Gravel**. Colbert, who is running as a Democrat and as a Republican, is not doing so well among Grand Old Partyers. Either the Republicans don't get the joke or they're still trying to figure out whether the celebrity candidacy of **Fred Thompson** is for real. JOHN NICHOLS

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as pawns in postcolonial proxy wars, an experience that had a devastating impact on African democracy, peace and development. In the past Washington has aided reactionary African factions that have carried out atrocities against civilians. An increased US military presence in Africa will likely follow this pattern of extracting resources while aiding factions in some of their bloodiest conflicts, thus further destabilizing the region.

Misguided unilateral US military policy to "bring peace and security to the people of Africa" has, in fact, led to inflamed local conflicts, destabilization of entire regions, billions of wasted dollars and the unnecessary deaths of US soldiers. The US bombing of Somalia in January—an attempt to eradicate alleged Islamic extremists in the Horn of Africa—resulted in the mass killing of civilians and the forced exodus of refugees into neighboring nations. What evidence suggests Africom will be an exception?

In contrast, Africa has demonstrated the capacity to stabilize volatile situations on its own. For example, in 1990 the Economic Community of West African States set up an armed Monitoring Group (Ecomog) in response to the civil war in Liberia. At their height, Ecomog forces in Liberia numbered 12,000, and it was these forces—not US or UN troops—that kept Liberia from disintegrating. In another mission, Ecomog forces were instrumental in repelling rebels from Sierra Leone's capital, Freetown.

There are a range of initiatives that can be taken by the US government and civil society to provide development and security assistance to Africa that do not include a US military presence. Foremost, policy toward Africa must be rooted in the principles of African self-determination and sovereignty. The legitimate and urgent development and security concerns of African countries cannot be fixed by dependence on the United States or any other foreign power. Instead of military strategies, African countries need immediate debt cancellation, fair trade policies and increased development assistance that respects indigenous approaches to building sustainable communities. Civil wars, genocide and terrorist threats can and must be confronted by a well-equipped African Union military command.

American policy-makers should be mindful that South Africa, whose citizens overthrew the US-supported apartheid regime, opposes Africom. In addition, Nigeria and the fourteen-nation Southern African Development Community resist Africom. These forces should be joined by other African governments and citizens around the world, to develop Africa's own strong, effective and timely security capacities. Progressive US-Africa policy organizations and related civil society groups have not been sufficiently organized to bring this critical issue before the people of the United States. It is urgent that we persuade progressive US legislators to stop the militarization of aid to Africa and to help ensure Africa's rise to responsible self-determination.

DANNY GLOVER AND NICOLE C. LEE

Danny Glover, a longtime human rights activist and internationally recognized actor, is the chairman of the board of directors of TransAfrica Forum. Nicole C. Lee is executive director of TransAfrica Forum.

Calvin Trillin, Deadline Poet

The Nicest Republican

The nice vote goes to Huckabee.
No other is as nice as he.
He leads a decent sort of life.
He's married to his only wife.
His kids, we'd bet, still speak to him.
He's courteous, but isn't prim.
A cheerful fat man who got lean,
He's not vindictive, rude or mean.
Of course, he thinks our way's been lost:
Abortion is a "holocaust"
And evolution's just a myth
(The apes are not his kin or kith)
And what the Bible says is true.
The Earth's not old. It's rather new—
Six thousand years, from Eve to present.
He's wacko, sure, but he's sure pleasant.

False Prophets

COMMENT

Francis Crick once described his fellow Nobel laureate James Watson's second book, *The Double Helix*, as "the history of science as gossip." According to the October issue of *Nature*, Watson's latest opus, *Avoid Boring People*, goes one better in that it "might be viewed as the history of gossip presented as science."

Indeed. In recent weeks Watson has created much furor with his assertion in the *Times* of London that he's "inherently gloomy about the prospect of Africa" because "all our social policies are based on the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours—whereas all the testing says not really," and that while he really, really wishes Africans were up to snuff, "people who have to deal with black employees find this is not true."

Most of the ensuing attention has focused on that particular quote, but Watson has a long and well-documented history of baselessly biologizing social stereotypes. In his view "stupidity" and "ugliness" are biological diseases that one day will be cured by altering the human gene line. Skin color and lots of sunshine are related to sexual potency, which is "why you have Latin lovers. You've never heard of an English lover. Only an English patient." Women don't have the same genetic hunger for science as men. Rich people should be paid to have babies.

It seems pretty obvious that Watson has a social problem. Unfortunately, he is remarkably seductive in projecting his personal anxieties onto the population at large. He is dead wrong about the science, but just try arguing that to the average person. The blogosphere is ablaze with credulous exuberance at Inferiority Unmasked: racial difference is obvious but no one wants to talk about it. Racial sensitivity and political correctness are holding empiricism back. The worst part is how James Watson's posi-

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House of Windsor dazzlers...

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...It All Began With A Crown

There is little doubt that the British monarchy was shaped and molded by dazzling jeweled objects, which represented wealth, status, and power. The most renowned gemstones in the world are steeped in rich history and, while each precious gem has its own story to tell, their place in history was firmly established once they were set into crowns, scepters, necklaces and rings. The priceless British Imperial State Crown contains some of the most spectacular blue sapphires ever cut. The British House of Windsor came into being in 1917, and it remains the family name of the current Royal Family today. In looking back at history, one would have to look no further than the Stauer House of Windsor Collection to discover love, romance, and intrigue in the an awe-inspiring collection of superbly crafted scientifically-grown sapphires.

The Jewelry of a Princess. It's been over 20 years since "Shy Di" accepted her prince's proposal, and though sadly, the happily-ever-aftering was not to be, the blue sapphire engagement ring he proffered that day became iconic. Luckily, you don't need a king's coffers to afford our version, a 2.6 carat lab-created oval sapphire, prong-set on a band of tarnish-free .925 sterling silver. This royal-blue beauty's surrounded by a cortege of 14 round lab-created Diamond*Aura* stones like so many ladies-in-waiting at court. For replete regal effect, add the matching earrings, 3.2 carats t.w. lab-created blue sapphires. The only difference between our lab-created gemstone and the original royal sapphires is that the natural sapphire has flaws called inclusions, and lab-created gemstones have no inclusions, as the mineral composition, heat, and pressure are controlled in the laboratory so the scientifically grown stones look vastly superior to most ordinary stones because they are loop-clean and have more luster and brilliance.

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tion of authority substitutes for science. After all, isn't he Mr. Genome? Father of the genetic revolution? And who are you, Mad Law Professor *und* ilk, but self-interested avatars of the genetically malapropic, African-descended lesser orders intent upon silencing the great man with steadfast unwillingness to "debate" what Watson himself calls—brace yourself for crashing irony—"unarguable truths without the support of evidence."

"Either he hasn't paid attention to his own field for the last decade or he's lying," says my colleague Dr. Robert Pollack, quietly and matter-of-factly. "I'm not sure which is worse." Pollack is a former dean of Columbia College. He has been a professor of biology since 1978 and teaches a required course that covers DNA-based evolution to 500 first-year students each year. He spent the early part of his career at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory—from which Watson, its head for forty years, was recently dismissed. Pollack was a senior scientist there, and one of Watson's first independent researchers. He remains one of his most distinguished mentees.

"This isn't about anything remotely contestable," continues Pollack. "The genes that regulate the amount of melanin beneath the skin are simply not expressed in the brain. It's been tested, reproduced, published, established. The social responses to skin color differences are real; race is not. Race is a choice. Watson chooses to hold on to a false construct about Africans. He could choose not to."

I put a question to Pollack that I see reiterated so much that it makes my head ache: what about the argument that even if an African "inferiority" gene hasn't been discovered yet, one day it might? "This isn't about what 'might' be shown," he says. "For at least the last fifty years we have known that we are a single species that began in Africa and spread over the globe. It is not about political correctness. This is about DNA and nothing more. Any human can have a baby with any other human. There has not been enough time for us to have evolved into separate breeds or subspecies, as Watson insinuates."

What about that crack about black employees? I ask. Are we just genetically predisposed to the bucket and broom? "Behavior as Watson describes it is not genetic," Pollack responds. "That too has been tested, reproduced, published, established. He's not been honest about the data already in hand, and that to me is the one failing no serious scientist can let pass. I wish he would say he'd gotten the facts wrong, and then his apologies might lead to social changes that would give them some force. So far, he's gone down another path: he's made his initial remarks even worse by suggesting that data on the role of childhood experience, as shaped by nature versus nurture, are not yet in, and that when they will be in, we will know that one's DNA is indeed one's fate. But the facts *are* in, and the results are just the opposite. Watson is just wrong. And what's alarming—shocking even—is that he ought to know he's wrong."

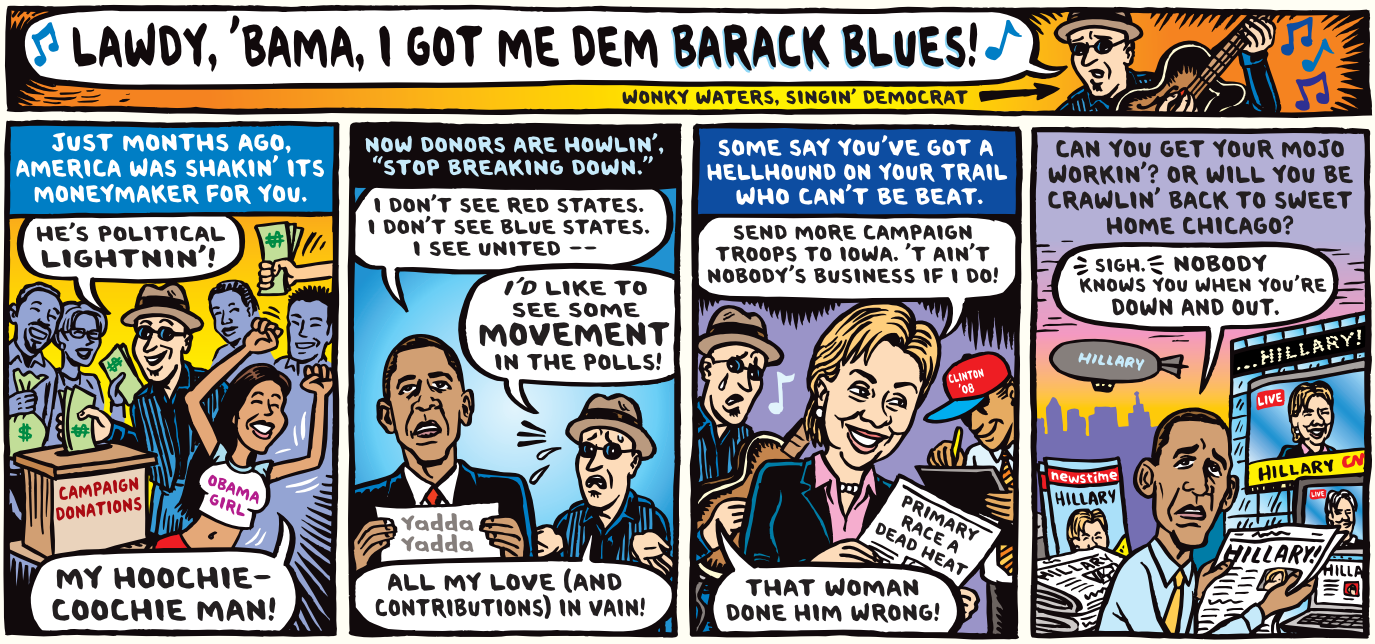
A lot of people think a debate would be fair. What would Pollack say to a face-off? "You must understand: the London Science Museum and Rockefeller University revoked his speaking invitations not because of anything to do with free speech or fear of debate. He's been allowed to retire from Cold Spring Harbor because he no longer speaks as a scientist. Under the First Amendment, you can be any kind of nut case and babble your piece. But honesty is the cornerstone of empirical inquiry.... You don't, you simply cannot, either ignore or make up facts. Watson has trashed that precept. Watson's fame rests on his being a consummate icon of the scientific profession. But he tanked the clearest of data. This is as inexplicable as it is inexcusable. The only legitimate question for debate is what conceivably could be in it for him."

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Patricia J. Williams, a Nation *columnist and law professor at Columbia University, is the author, most recently, of* Open House: Of Family, Friends, Food, Piano Lessons, and the Search for a Room of My Own.

Comix Nation

by WARD SUTTON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By John Fleming

For many of us, nothing is more relaxing than a long, luxurious bath. Unfortunately, because of safety concerns, many people, particularly older people, have to forego this simple pleasure. Sure, you can spend big bucks to remodel your bathroom to provide a bathtub you can use, but who wants to do that? Now there's a better way, and it lets you use the bath that's in your home today.

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Alexander Cockburn

Du Côté de Chez Madame Defarge

Paris

"This is France, not North Korea," snarled a bland-looking Frenchman after I'd pointed out that we were in the rather dingy non-smoking section of Le Sancerre, a modest little brasserie in the Marais. Still, he put down his lighter and Marlboros. Since I was a three-pack-a-day man until I went cold turkey on my fortieth birthday, I could feel his rage. An hour later I was in the Conciergerie and transported back to the heyday of the Committee of Public Safety, when the status of France, in the eyes of its enemies across the Channel and the Rhine, made the land of Kim Jong Il look as tame as the Democrats in Congress in Year Seven of Bush time.

The Conciergerie is at the west end of the Île de la Cité, where the cathedral of Notre Dame stands. Part of the Palais de Justice, it is most famously where suspects were taken during the French Revolution. In the early years following the fall of the Bastille in 1789, you had a sporting chance of walking out of the Conciergerie with head and shoulders still connected. A notice on the stone wall next to a bust of Robespierre said that in the Revolution's first year only a third of the accused were found guilty. The place really picked up after the establishment in the spring of 1793 of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the installation of public prosecutor Antoine Fouquier-Tinville, who bustled well over a thousand into eternal sleep ("Death is nothing but eternal sleep" was posted in all cemeteries in the Revolutionary period), including Marie Antoinette, Danton, Hébert and Robespierre, before the blade fell on his own neck in May 1795.

These days the Disneyfication of historical sites proceeds in lockstep with the construction of those worldwide boondoggles par excellence, "visitor centers" and "heritage" facilities. Not so in the Conciergerie, a heavy place. You can imagine being hauled in, dumped in a cell along with a passel of *vicomtes* and *ducs*, given your minute in court and not long thereafter taken to the door—there it was right in front of my nose—behind which was a horse harnessed to the tumbrel, with Madame Defarge and her knitting crew waiting for you in the front row, where the guillotine stood in what is now the Place de la Concorde, near the Crillon Bar.

It was a cold day in Brumaire when I visited the Conciergerie, and shortly thereafter the Métro train I was riding on went through a station called Guy Môquet. At one end of the platform there were vases of flowers forming a little shrine to young Môquet, the 17-year-old member of a group of twenty-seven Communists in the French Resistance who were shot by the Nazis on October 22, 1941, as reprisal for the killing of a senior German officer. Before he was shot Môquet wrote a famous letter to his parents and brother, saying he was ready to die, having "done my best to follow the way that you have laid out for me" (his father was a Communist deputy) and concluding, "I…kiss you with all this child's heart of mine. Be brave!"

Since his death Môquet has been prominent in the martyrology of the Resistance. This October President Sarkozy said Môquet's last letter should be read in every school on October 22 as a way of reminding youth of high ideals. Leftist teachers and old Communists reacted harshly, saying Sarkozy was an opportunist and a hypocrite, and how did this fit with his schemes to curb immigration? Sarkozy canceled plans to attend a reading of Môquet's letter at a school. Who knows what his real motives were? He says he chokes up every time he reads the letter, and maybe he does. His wife was about to leave him, and maybe he was trying to change the subject in advance.

Force any young person to listen to an uplifting letter once a year and you reap negation. If Sarkozy had wanted to finish off the memory of Môquet, this was the way to do it. If he'd signed a law saying any minor caught mentioning Môquet's name would be shot, he'd have perpetuated young Guy's glory for decades to come.

The moral: let people think for themselves. When Enlightened Public Opinion required that Nobel Prize–winning geneticist James Watson's lecture at the Science Museum in London be canceled, no one spoke up on behalf of the prospective capacity of the audience to say their collective intelligence was acute enough to withstand Watson's views on the different results obtained by Africans in IQ tests. No one pointed out the obvious—it seems such to me—which is that these IQ tests are devised by white Protestants. The answer should be to have Africans devise tests based on their cultural assumptions.

It's easy enough to adopt a high moral tone about a 79-year-old espouser of nutball eugenics, but it's another matter to take a whack at IQ tests, which were devised by upper-class eugenics fanatics at the start of the twentieth century. *Le Monde* ran a high-minded piece on "The Temptation of Race" by Stéphane Foucart on October 30 claiming that it was only with the advent of "science" that we learned that "humanity is one big family." Such nonsense. It was with the rise of the "scientific method" that we got the skull measurers and the IQ testers and the genetic mountebanks telling us that various bits of humanity were trash. Sarkozy wants DNA tests at the border post.

A few days after the Science Museum nixed Watson while insisting that "the Science Museum does not shy away from debating controversial topics," I stepped onto the Eurostar train to London to attack the cult of anthropogenic global warming at the "Battle of Ideas" conference at the Royal College of Art. I thought for a moment on the Eurostar that the old lady in the next seat, looking a bit like Madame Defarge, was actually Donald Rumsfeld in disguise, fleeing possible arrest and trial as a war criminal. But it seems he fled across the Rhine. In London the organizers told me the Gore groupies had, without success, tried to get the RCA to ban the Battlers. These days, North Korea is everywhere. ■

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Katha Pollitt

David Horowitz, Feminist?

I couldn't get in to hear David Horowitz give the big, climactic speech for Islamofascism Awareness Week at Columbia. Like an idiot, I had assumed it was a normal public event and I could just walk in; but the nice Young Republican checking IDs at the credentials table told me that all attendees, including journalists, were supposed to have signed up online three days earlier. At that point a real reporter would have figured out how to sneak in, but I slouched meekly away. So I'm relying on the *International Herald Tribune* when I report that a grand total of 100 people were on hand to hear Horowitz speak. According to the *Columbia Spectator*, in that speech he claimed that "nooses have been put figuratively on the doors of the College Republicans," that the Week was held in defense of moderate Muslims, that the Iraq War was Jimmy Carter's fault and that the Columbia University women's studies department does not deal with the oppression of women in Muslim countries. Add his audience to the eighty people who, according to my *Nation* colleague Esther Kaplan, showed up two days earlier to hear Ibn Warraq, Christina Hoff Sommers and Phyllis Chesler (best Chesler snippet from Esther's tape: If the jihadists win, we'll become veiled "sex slaves"), and it's obvious that we should all take public-relations lessons from Horowitz. Once again, through his patented combination of egomania and chutzpah, he managed to get the media all riled up about something few on campus bothered to show up for.

I've written before about what's wrong with the term "Islamofascism" (which, contrary to Horowitz's assertion, was not invented by Algerians in the 1990s to describe the fundamentalist mass murderers in that country; it was used previously by historian Malise Ruthven in 1990 to describe the authoritarian governments of the Muslim world). It's a highly emotional propaganda term intended to conflate a variety of groups, from Baathists to Hamas to Al Qaeda to the Taliban, into one big murderball and to move us to war—yesterday Iraq, tomorrow Iran—by evoking the clash of civilizations, religious apocalypse, implacable enemies, the folly of compromise and Hitler. Everyone with a more complicated, or less alarming, picture than Us versus Them becomes an appeaser, a sympathizer, a dupe or a fool. The point is to get people so scared and outraged they won't ask questions like, Is a Columbia student in a headscarf so different from a Columbia student in a yarmulke? And how likely is it that women's studies professors think female genital mutilation is great and honor killing is "just their culture"?

"The Islamofascist Awareness people aren't interested in what's actually going on in the Muslim world," Columbia anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod told me by phone. "They just use the woman question as an easy way to target Muslims." Abu-Lughod reminded me, for example, that genital mutilation is basically a regional African custom that has acquired religious overtones—most Muslim societies don't practice it, and many non-Muslims do. She also pointed out that this semester, contrary to Horowitz's claims, women's studies is offering or cross-listing no fewer than three courses about women in the Muslim world, none of which paints a rosy picture.

The oppression of women in the Muslim world is a major theme among the Islamofascistly aware. And here the story gets a bit tricky. An awful lot of those associated with the Week are antifeminist conservatives—I mean, come on—Rick Santorum? Ann Coulter? Sean Hannity? These are people who've made careers out of attacking the mildest updates on American women's roles, whether it's working mothers, birth control or even, in the case of Coulter, the right to vote! In the zillions of words for which Horowitz is responsible—as writer, activist, speechifier and editor of Frontpagemag.com—there is virtually no evidence of concern for the rights, liberties, opportunities or well-being of any women on earth, except for Muslims. Leaving aside the industrialized West for a moment, it's not as if life is a picnic for women in China, India, Africa, Latin America. Why no interest in them?

Let's say the focus on Muslim women is entirely cynical—a clever quadruple play to simultaneously promote Euro-American cultural chauvinism, defuse antiwar sentiment, attack Middle Eastern studies departments as hotbeds of jihad and discredit American feminists as a bunch of princessy complainers. (Domestic violence? job discrimination? abortion restrictions? Honey, you're lucky someone's not stuffing you into a burqa!) There could still be that little bit of truth. Take, for example, the only Muslim woman who is, so far as I know, associated with Islamofascism Awareness Week—Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the world-famous Somali-born Dutch Muslim feminist, former parliamentarian, author of *The Caged Virgin* and *Infidel* and now American Enterprise Institute fellow. Hirsi Ali gets bad press on the left—*The Nation* has published two long, negative pieces about her: an indignant review of *The Caged Virgin* by the very good fiction writer Laila Lalami, who accused her of promoting patronizing views of Muslim women as passive and helpless, and a snide piece by Deborah Scroggins portraying her as a grandstanding diva who only made life more difficult for Muslim women in the Netherlands. This is a woman who has been the target of multiple death threats from Muslim fanatics like the one who murdered her colleague, filmmaker Theo van Gogh; who is frankly secular, in fact an atheist; who was herself genitally mutilated at the age of 5, and as a legislator did, in fact, seek to cut through the "benign neglect" of Dutch Muslim women's rights that prevailed in multicultural Holland. I'm as dismayed as anyone by Hirsi Ali's rightward trajectory, but I admire her all the same. Maybe we leftists and feminists need to think a bit more self-critically about how the AEI—to say nothing of the clownish Horowitz—managed to win over this bold and complex crusader for women's rights.

To be continued… ■

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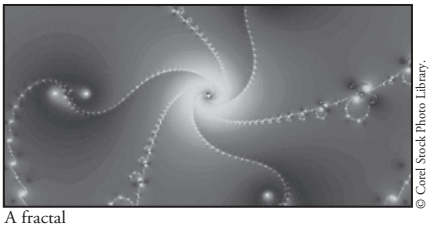

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Naomi Klein

Rapture Rescue 911: Disaster Response for the Chosen

I used to worry that the United States was in the grip of extremists who sincerely believed that the Apocalypse was coming and that they and their friends would be airlifted to heavenly safety. I have since reconsidered. The country is indeed in the grip of extremists who are determined to act out the biblical climax—the saving of the chosen and the burning of the masses—but without any divine intervention. Heaven can wait. Thanks to the booming business of privatized disaster services, we're getting the Rapture right here on earth.

Just look at what is happening in Southern California. Even as wildfires devoured whole swaths of the region, some homes in the heart of the inferno were left intact, as if saved by a higher power. But it wasn't the hand of God; in several cases it was the handiwork of Firebreak Spray Systems. Firebreak is a special service offered to customers of insurance giant American International Group (AIG)—but only if they happen to live in the wealthiest ZIP codes in the country. Members of the company's Private Client Group pay an average of $19,000 to have their homes sprayed with fire retardant. During the wildfires, the "mobile units"—racing around in red firetrucks—even extinguished fires for their clients.

One customer described a scene of modern-day Revelation. "Just picture it. Here you are in that raging wildfire. Smoke everywhere. Flames everywhere. Plumes of smoke coming up over the hills," he told the *Los Angeles Times*. "Here's a couple guys showing up in what looks like a firetruck who are experts trained in fighting wildfire and they're there specifically to protect your home."

And your home alone. "There were a few instances," one of the private firefighters told Bloomberg News, "where we were spraying and the neighbor's house went up like a candle." With public fire departments cut to the bone, gone are the days of Rapid Response, when everyone was entitled to equal protection. Now, increasingly intense natural disasters will be met with the new model: Rapture Response.

During last year's hurricane season, Florida homeowners were offered similarly high-priced salvation by HelpJet, a travel agency launched with promises to turn "a hurricane evacuation into a jet-setter vacation." For an annual fee, a company concierge takes care of everything: transport to the air terminal, luxurious travel, bookings at five-star resorts. Most of all, HelpJet is an escape hatch from the kind of government failure on display during Katrina. "No standing in lines, no hassle with crowds, just a first class experience."

HelpJet is about to get some serious competition from some much larger players. In northern Michigan, during the same week that the California fires raged, the rural community of Pellston was in the grip of an intense public debate. The village is about to become the headquarters for the first fully privatized national disaster response center. The plan is the brainchild of Sovereign Deed, a little-known start-up with links to the mercenary firm Triple Canopy. Like HelpJet, Sovereign Deed works on a "country-club type membership fee," according to the company's vice president, retired Brig. Gen. Richard Mills. In exchange for a one-time fee of $50,000 followed by annual dues of $15,000, members receive "comprehensive catastrophe response services" should their city be hit by a man-made disaster that can "cause severe threats to public health and/or well-being" (read: a terrorist attack), a disease outbreak or a natural disaster. Basic membership includes access to medicine, water and food, while those who pay for "premium tiered services" will be eligible for VIP rescue missions.

Like so many private disaster companies, Sovereign Deed is selling escape from climate change and the failed state—by touting the security clearance and connections its executives amassed while working for that same state. So Mills, speaking recently in Pellston, explained, "The reality of FEMA is that it has no infrastructure, and a lot of our National Guard is elsewhere." Sovereign Deed, on the other hand, claims to have "direct access and special arrangements with several national and international information centers. These proprietary arrangements allow our Emergency Operations Center to…give our Members that critical head start in times of crisis." In this secular version of the Rapture, God's hand is unnecessary. Not when you have retired ex-CIA agents and ex–Special Forces lifting the chosen to safety—no need to pray, just pay. And who needs a celestial New Jerusalem when you can have Pellston, with its flexible local politicians and its surprisingly modern regional airport?

Sovereign Deed could soon find itself competing with Blackwater USA, whose CEO, Erik Prince, wrote recently of his plans to offer "full spectrum" services, including humanitarian aid in disasters. When fires broke out in San Diego County, near the proposed site of the controversial Blackwater West base, the company immediately seized the opportunity to make its case. Blackwater could have been the "tactical operation center for East County fires," said company vice president Brian Bonfiglio. "Can you imagine how much of a benefit it would be if we were operational now?" To show off its capacity, Blackwater has been distributing badly needed food and blankets to people of Potrero, California. "This is something we've always done," Bonfiglio said. "This is what we do." Actually, what Blackwater does, as Iraqis have painfully learned, is not protect entire communities or countries but "protect the principal"—the principal being whoever has paid Blackwater for its guns and gear.

The same pay-to-be-saved logic governs this entire new sector of country club disaster management. There is, of course, another principle that could guide our collective responses in a disaster-prone world: the simple conviction that every life is of equal value.

For anyone out there who still believes in that wild idea, the time has urgently arrived to protect the principle. ■

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The Nation.

The 2008 election, more than any election in decades, will turn on questions of foreign policy and national security—from our failed occupation of Iraq to the regional ambitions of Iran and the rising power of China. And the election is not just about who wins the presidency, as important as that is. It is about who controls the agenda—what issues get discussed and how those issues are framed and debated. Despite the enormous damage its policies have done, the Bush Administration and its ideological allies and enablers continue to shape the '08 foreign policy agenda.

Progressives thus find themselves with a double challenge: on the one hand, we must counter the many dangerous assumptions that shape the debate on Iraq, Iran and Islamic extremism by proposing saner policies. On the other hand, we must enlarge the agenda beyond these issues and offer a vision of America's role in the world that would truly break with the failed policies of the past decade. This special issue takes up that dual challenge, beginning what must be a collective effort to rethink America's global role and what a progressive foreign policy should look like. —The Editors

The most damaging part of the Bush foreign policy legacy is not the precipitous decline in American power and influence brought about by the disastrous Iraq occupation. It is the way the Administration's "war on terror" and its neoimperial project in the Middle East have distorted our vision of the world. They magnify out of all proportion what should at worst be minor threats to our national security and ignore much larger developments, such as the extraordinary economic rise of China and India, which are having a much more profound effect on the American way of life.

Just how distorted our vision of the world has become has been on constant display during the primary campaign leading up to the 2008 elections. The major candidates from both parties have followed a foreign policy narrative dominated by Iraq, Iran and Islamic extremism. Promising to see the Iraq War through to a successful conclusion, the Republicans want to extend Bush's policies into a generational war against Islamic extremism, which they see as a new totalitarian threat. Democratic candidates have committed themselves to getting out of Iraq—or at least vastly reducing America's presence there—and to fighting a smarter war against terrorism while restoring America's global leadership. But they, too, seem intent on proving their toughness, even to the point of pursuing many of the same goals that led to the loss of America's standing in the first place.

Neither party seems ready to deal with a radically changed world that in many ways moved on as we got sucked ever more deeply into Bush's Iraq catastrophe. In this sense, the 2008 elections pose a larger challenge: to advance American goals and interests in this new world, it will not be enough merely to repudiate the worst features of Bush's militarism. It will be necessary to rethink American priorities and the very meaning of what American foreign policy is about.

The Republican Narrative

It is clear that this rethinking will not come from the leading Republican candidates. The GOP narrative of a long war against Islamic extremism is purposely backward-looking, modeled on the earlier struggle against Soviet Communism during the cold war. Yet as Juan Cole suggests on page 26, the idea that Islamic extremism poses a threat commensurate with Soviet Communism is patently absurd. Six years after 9/11, it is clear that Al Qaeda does not have the organizational capacity or resources to pose a systematic danger to American lives or interests, and that common-sense counter-terrorist measures—better intelligence, more effective border control and internationally coordinated police work—can dramatically reduce the risk of terrorist attack. It is also clear

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that Al Qaeda does not have the popular appeal in Muslim societies to constitute a threat to any significant government, despite the boost that Bush Administration policies may have given to Al Qaeda recruitment.

When leading Republican candidates talk about the Islamic threat, they do not just mean Al Qaeda. They also mean religious-based popular movements like Hezbollah as well as the clerical leadership of Iran. But it is here that the Republican narrative turns from the absurd to the tragic, greatly expanding the number of America's enemies and ignoring the fact that Iran and its Shiite allies are bitterly opposed to Al Qaeda and could be useful partners in the fight to eliminate extremism. Whether Republicans conflate the two out of ignorance or because they believe that Islamic radicalism of any stripe poses a threat to US interests, or merely because they want to play on the public's fears, it makes for bad policy, as the Bush Administration's failed Middle East strategy demonstrates.

Like know-nothing nineteenth-century imperialists, the leading Republican candidates warn that Islamic radicals want to push the United States out of the Middle East. They have forgotten that in the twenty-first century a military presence abroad is no longer a reliable way to secure a great power's interests and may only create the very threat it seeks to avoid. It is not a coincidence that the greatest amount of Islamic terrorism stems from resistance to foreign military occupation or that the governments that feel most vulnerable to Islamic jihadism are those that have had a close association with the United States, or on whose soil the United States has left the heaviest footprint. Indeed, the tragedy of the Republican position is that it would suck us even more deeply into a "clash of civilizations" with a fringe Islamic movement while isolating us from other parts of the world that are just as or more important to American interests.

The Democratic Narrative

The leading Democratic candidates understand many of the shortcomings of the Bush Administration's approach to the world. They understand, for example, that America's moral standing has been gravely damaged by Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo and by the Administration's disregard for international law, as Oona Hathaway points out on page 35. Yet in many key respects they are trapped in the same post-9/11 view of the world.

The Democratic candidates say they want to fight a smarter war against terrorism, but in the end they are adopting policies that seem more designed to prove their toughness than prevent terrorist attacks. This is evident, as William Hartung notes on page 20, in their calls for increasing the size of US ground forces and for retaining a military presence in Iraq and neighboring Arab countries, as well as in Afghanistan. Such a visible US presence would serve no useful military mission, but it would give Al Qaeda an ongoing cause to keep its movement alive.

The Democratic commitment to restoring America's global leadership also raises questions. For one thing, it will be difficult to reclaim moral leadership as long as America is bogged down in increasingly unpopular counterinsurgency wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. For even the most enlightened counterinsurgency warfare will inevitably entail civilian casualties, which engender nationalist resistance. This is not to mention the financial cost of ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (estimated to be well more than $1 trillion over the next decade), which would foreclose other foreign policy initiatives as well as new social investments at home.

As important, the Democrats seem to assume that the world so wants and needs American leadership that it is there for the taking. But as Anatol Lieven suggests on page 32, the overarching question facing American foreign policy is not how to restore leadership but how to adjust to an increasingly multipolar world that may be less open to any one power's primacy. Russia, China, India, South Korea, a host of South American countries and even the pro-American powers belonging to the European Union have all grown accustomed to a world in which the United States has been preoccupied with Iraq and in which they have had more freedom to shape the politics and economies of their regions. Much of the world has done just fine without active American leadership during this time and thus may not be as receptive to a reassertion of US leadership, as most of the Democratic candidates seem to suggest.

> The most significant development of the past decade is not the appearance of radical Islamic fringe groups but the rise of China and India.

Indeed, the leading Democratic candidates have failed to grasp one of the central lessons of the Bush era: the world does not need strong US leadership so much as it needs constructive US participation as a great power. On global climate change, on AIDS in Africa, on engaging North Korea, to mention just a few issues, other powers and new coalitions of transnational NGOs and intergovernmental agencies—as well as long-established ones such as the United Nations—got there just as quickly as and in some cases before the United States, and they now have an ownership stake in these issues and well-developed views about how they should be solved. They would welcome the United States to the fold, but they would not cede all leadership to Washington.

A Progressive Narrative

For the leading Democratic candidates and their advisers, toughness and global leadership have become ends in themselves. But in today's world these ends do not automatically equal a better world for American interests or make possible a more decent liberal society at home. That requires a strategic vision of how to work with others to build a world order that accommodates the voices of an increasingly pluralistic group of nations yet serves America's core interests and values.

Sherle R. Schwenninger, director of the Global Economic Policy Program at the New America Foundation, is a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute.

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Today's presidential candidates could do worse than look to the Rooseveltian vision that emerged in the latter days of World War II for inspiration. That original vision entailed working to preserve peace by sharing power in international institutions; the promotion of the universality of human rights and self-determination; and the spread of middle-class prosperity through Keynesian economics and the managed expansion of global commerce. (To this narrative, of course, one now must add global climate change and the stewardship of the planet's ecology.) This vision of world order was ever mindful of the intimate link between America's international policies and its goal of socioeconomic progress at home. Maintaining peace among the great powers and avoiding unnecessary wars, it was correctly believed, would allow us to keep our national security costs low, freeing resources to expand our social contract through greater social spending and public investment. Promoting middle-class prosperity abroad would reinforce prosperity at home while helping secure a lasting peace internationally.

If this remains the most promising progressive foreign policy narrative, then the most significant development of the past decade is not the appearance of radical Islamic fringe groups in the Middle East but the extraordinary economic rise of China and India and the integration of more than 2 billion people into the world economy. This development, together with the ongoing integration of the world's markets for goods, services and capital and the global political awakening made possible by satellite TV and the Internet, touches upon virtually every aspect of a progressive world vision and America's domestic society, influencing everything from the price of oil and food, to human rights and governance in Latin America and Africa, to the wages and living standards of American workers.

Yet these developments have commanded little attention in the foreign policy debate of this electoral season, except for a few alarmist concerns about the threat they pose to American primacy. But to Rooseveltian progressives, they define the two overarching challenges of foreign policy in the early twenty-first century. One challenge relates to the classic strategic dilemma of how to amend the international system to accommodate the interests of new rising powers without sacrificing progressive values or undermining socioeconomic progress at home. The other challenge involves how to extend the system of national governance and regulation around the world, creating an effective system of international governance without compromising popular sovereignty at home. In the early twentieth century, the leading powers failed this test, and the result was two devastating world wars and a world depression.

The good news is that none of the emerging powers seek to challenge the United States directly or have hegemonic ambitions of their own—at least not now. But they do want a greater voice in world affairs and more influence in shaping their regional environments. Rather than seeing this desire as an obstacle to American leadership, candidates in the progressive tradition should welcome it as a way to share the burden of keeping order and to reduce the need for projecting military power in the world. They should support the building of what Roosevelt called a community of power, even though in some cases this will require the United States to give up its maximalist demands and accept compromises that seem to fall short of progressive standards. Whether we like it or not China, India and Russia will influence what happens with Iran and North Korea, so better to involve them in a solution than to ignore their interests.

Refashioning today's international institutions—especially but not only the United Nations—to give these emerging powers a larger voice will of course take time. But in the short term, the next administration could pursue the development of regional concerts of power and new arms control measures to prevent destructive geopolitical competition and costly arms races. The successful negotiation, under the six-power framework talks, of a deal to cap North Korea's nuclear weapons program illustrates the promise of such regional concerts. The United States was able to reduce any future threat to American national security without having to expend military power or make major concessions. The successful six-power talks provide a framework for an ongoing regional concert to manage the eventual reunification of Korea and to avoid destructive rivalries among China, South Korea, Japan and Russia and to cap future military spending.

The withdrawal of American forces from Iraq would provide another opportunity to internationalize American policy and draw other powers into the management of regional stability, thus reducing the American burden. Establishing the framework of a more inclusive regional security architecture—one that would both accommodate Iran's legitimate interests and stem its destabilizing tendencies—would, as Trita Parsi suggests on page 23, allow the United States to lower America's military profile in the Persian Gulf without sacrificing vital American interests.

The most likely cause of future conflict among great powers lies in competition over oil and other strategic resources. China's and India's rapid economic growth has dramatically increased the demand for strategic commodities, and great powers whose economic growth depends on the import of such materials tend to develop geopolitical strategies to ensure their access to these resources. Accordingly, China has adopted a new diplomatic activism in Africa and Latin America, making long-term supply agreements that lock up access to world commodities and challenge the fragile international consensus of not rewarding countries for human rights abuses.

Some argue that the United States needs to respond with its own geopolitical strategy to maintain control of the world's oil and strategic commodity markets by reinforcing its military position in the Gulf and expanding it to parts of Africa. A better approach would be for the United States to reduce the importance of these resources by helping to lead a worldwide effort, including cooperative ventures with China, aimed at harnessing

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the resource efficiency revolution and developing clean-energy alternatives. Together with championing new arms control measures to prevent the further expansion of China's naval and space deployments, this would make more sense.

The more immediate and more serious challenge relates to the unusual merger of American corporate capitalism with China's authoritarian political system. To some governments in the developing world, this has created an attractive option—authoritarian capitalism—what some have dubbed the "Beijing consensus." Emerging in the wake of the failure of the neoliberal Washington consensus, the seeming success of the Chinese model poses a threat to the advancement of human rights, as authoritarian governments seek to justify repression by pointing to China's success or seek to expand commercial ties with China in the hope of shielding themselves from Western pressure.

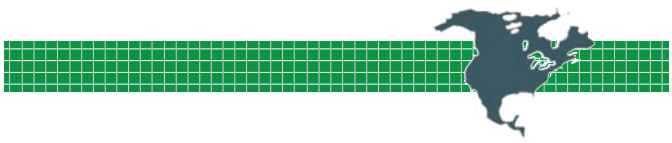
It also poses a threat to the middle-class social contracts of developed economies, which have been a cornerstone of the capitalist peace for the past sixty years, and to the development of similar middle-class contracts in other emerging economies, which will be important to future peace and prosperity. The entry of China and India (and the former USSR) into the global economy has had the effect of more than doubling the world's potential labor force. This has put downward pressure on wages in both the developed and developing worlds—eroding the middle classes in the advanced industrialized countries and slowing the growth of the middle class in developing economies.

Because of the size of China and India, their rapid integration into the world economy has also had the effect of crowding out economic opportunities for other developing countries, as reflected by the fact that China has attracted the lion's share of the world's direct investment. China's economic success has to some degree come at the expense of jobs and economic growth in Mexico and Central America, which in turn has resulted in more immigration of low-wage laborers to the United States.

This pattern of economic integration has resulted in growing disparities of wealth and income in both the United States and the emerging powers. Already one sees the effects—in the growing disquiet in parts of the American heartland, in the rise of religious radicalism in the Middle East and in the populist backlash in Latin America. Should economic growth and job creation falter in China and India, we will see growing instability there as well, perhaps in the form of resurgent nationalism.

That is why the next administration must put jobs and middle-class prosperity at the center of American foreign policy, as Afshin Molavi suggests on page 30. And that is why it will have to find a way to encourage change in China away from authoritarian capitalism to a system that allows Chinese workers to enjoy much more rapid improvement in their living standard. That means replacing the widely discredited Washington consensus with what might be called a Rooseveltian consensus, which would aim to raise wages and living standards as well as create robust safety nets in these increasingly productive economies. Indeed, the most important foreign policy initiative the next administration could take would be to use its trading relationship with China to encourage it to develop a comprehensive social welfare system, allowing Chinese workers to save less and consume more. Such an initiative is not just necessary to reduce the US trade imbalance but to save the world economy, which is beginning to choke on excessive Chinese savings.

The success of a progressive foreign policy depends on establishing the right priorities. These include capping military expenditures in East Asia, turning America's withdrawal from Iraq into a new regional security order in the Persian Gulf, promoting a worldwide resource-efficiency revolution, elevating human rights to their proper place in international diplomacy and emphasizing a new Rooseveltian growth consensus. All these goals reinforce one another. And they would enable the United States to prosper, even as its power relative to that of other nations recedes. ■



Avoiding the Toughness Trap

Elements of a progressive security strategy.

by WILLIAM D. HARTUNG

There is a surreal quality to many of the foreign policy arguments being put forward in the 2008 presidential campaign, particularly among Republican presidential hopefuls. The Bush Administration's fiasco in Iraq is a transformative event that calls for a fundamental rethinking of US security strategy. The policies of "preventive" war, forward basing of US troops aimed at intimidating designated adversaries and unbridled support for missile defense and new nuclear weapons should all be cast aside in search of a new approach.

While scrupulously avoiding reference to George W. Bush by name, the top Republican candidates have embraced the worst aspects of his national security policies. No matter how badly things go in Iraq, Senator John McCain has stubbornly adhered to his ill-advised position on the war. Former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani has cast himself as the post-9/11 tough guy, advocating not only a "stay the course" policy in Iraq but also the use of force against Iran. One of Mitt Romney's most memorable pledges is his call to "double Guantánamo," while his main defense plank is a promise to increase the armed forces by 100,000 troops. Former Tennessee senator and *Law and Order* district attorney Fred Thompson is trying to run to the right of the other major Republican candidates, and his foreign policy positions reflect that decision. Perhaps most important for the long term, all the Republican front-runners support maintaining a large and growing US global military presence, including expansion into the heart of the Muslim world.

For their part, major candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination have not adequately distinguished their

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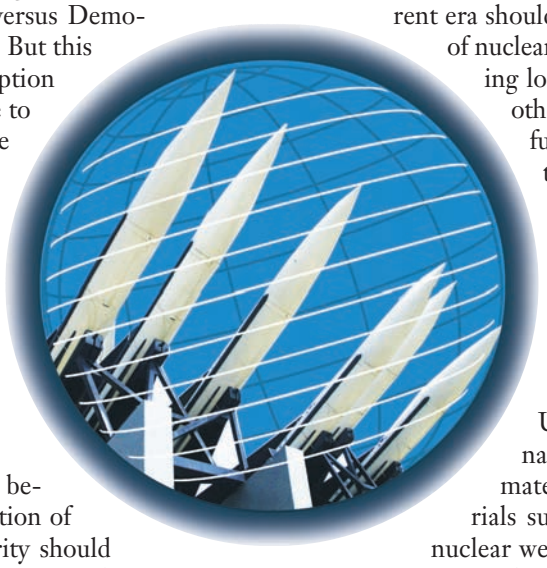
views from the Bush doctrine. Each has endorsed one or more of the following actions: threatening a unilateral military strike in the territory of an allied country; keeping all options "on the table"—including, presumably, the use of nuclear weapons—in addressing Iran's nuclear program; increasing the Army and Marines by 80,000 or more troops and increasing the military budget.

In short, the door is open for a thoroughgoing debate on the future of US security policy that goes beyond the urgent question of how to get out of Iraq. So far, mainstream Democrats have failed to seize this historic moment.

The political underpinning of this failure of imagination comes from Democratic consultants, pollsters and think tanks, who argue that the party's candidates need to project an image of toughness to overcome the "security gap" that has existed in public perceptions of Republicans versus Democrats since the end of the Vietnam War. But this logic rests on a fatal flaw—the assumption that the immediate future will continue to resemble the pattern of the past three decades. In Iraq the disastrous consequences of the Bush Administration's use of military force against a country that posed no imminent threat to the United States are there for all to see. Rather than projecting a posture of toughness, what is needed is an effective plan for defending the United States and its allies.



A progressive defense policy must begin with a fundamental redefinition of what constitutes security. Security should involve protection against all threats to human life, whether they emanate from terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, environmental degradation, outbreaks of disease or entrenched poverty and hunger. This means that many of the most dangerous threats we face are not amenable to military solutions. Furthermore, given their cross-border nature, these challenges must be addressed through inclusive global partnerships, not ad hoc coalitions.

The elements of a new defense policy fall into two areas: (1) reversing longstanding policies that are doing more to undermine US security than to promote it; and (2) fixing the mismatch in resources that devotes far too much funding to traditional military missions at the expense of the more diverse set of tools needed to address current and future threats to security.

Probably the most retrograde element of Hillary Clinton's and Barack Obama's foreign policy platforms is the proposal to increase the Army and Marines by at least 80,000 troops (John Edwards has refused to join the "bidding war" over who can propose the largest troop increases). This approach implies either a commitment to continuing the doctrine of "preventive" war and military occupation pioneered by the Bush Administration or, at the least, a continuation of the cold war practice of deploying US troops in bases ringing the globe. During the cold war, this aggressive posture was rationalized on the basis of containing the Soviet Union and its allies around the world. In some instances, the United States' cold war military presence provided genuine reassurance to allies who depended on a US security pledge to feel safe. Now there is strong popular resistance to US military facilities in many of the areas where the Pentagon is most eager to base forces. And when the main US adversary is not a nation-state but a loose network of terrorist organizations, the stationing of large numbers of troops in or near Muslim nations offers little or no military value while generating opposition that can only help to improve the recruiting and fundraising activities of Al Qaeda and its allies.

Likewise, US nuclear policy still veers toward the cold war practice of using nuclear threats to shape the behavior of potential adversaries. This has certainly been the case with respect to Iran. But the primary goal of US policy in the current era should be preventing the acquisition and use of nuclear weapons by terrorist groups, not making loose threats that are more likely to spur other nations to seek nuclear weapons. Any future needs the United States may have to deter potential nuclear attacks can be handled with a small residual force of at most a few hundred warheads, which could be eliminated in conjunction with a longer-term international effort to abolish these weapons of mass terror altogether.

The most urgent short-term goal of US policy should be to secure or eliminate nuclear bombs and bomb-making materials in Russia—where there are materials sufficient to build tens of thousands of nuclear weapons—and worldwide, where smaller quantities of bombs and bomb-making material might be seized by a terrorist group. Barack Obama has built up an admirable track record on this issue.

Negotiations to curb or roll back North Korea's nuclear program should continue, and saber-rattling toward Iran should be replaced by efforts to promote a grand political and security bargain. This would include ending military threats and economic sanctions against Iran in exchange for a pledge to limit its nuclear program to civilian purposes under a strict inspections regime. Some intelligence estimates put Iran's capability of building and deploying nuclear weapons at ten years or more in the future, a time frame that allows plenty of scope for negotiations, notwithstanding the recent tough talk from Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

The linchpin of efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons should be an initiative to implement sharp cuts in US and Russian arsenals, which together account for about 95 percent of all nuclear weapons worldwide. In this area Democratic candidates Barack Obama and John Edwards have staked out strong, forward-looking positions in line with the views of former officials such as Nixon/Ford Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Reagan Secretary of State George Shultz, Clinton Defense Secretary William Perry and former Senate Armed Services Committee chair Sam Nunn, who have endorsed the goal of "a world free of nuclear weapons," to be achieved by "working energetically on the actions required to achieve that

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goal." In keeping with this movement toward nuclear disarmament, the Energy Department's National Nuclear Security Administration should abandon plans to research and build a new generation of nuclear warheads and eliminate plans to upgrade US bomb-making facilities under its Complex Transformation plan.

The second major thrust of a new security policy must address the stark misallocation of resources in this area, which is closely tied to the persistence of cold war strategies and weapons systems that have little relevance to today's security environment. Implementing a more comprehensive security policy entails using all the tools available—not just military force but diplomacy, intelligence, law enforcement, development assistance, environmental protection and forward-looking public health policies.

The top three Democratic candidates all endorse some version of this general framework. The difficulty arises when these candidates enunciate specific policies that are at odds with this perspective.

For all the Bush Administration's emphasis on military approaches to fighting terrorism, military force should be the tool of last resort.

The most detailed proposal to date on how to engage in a shift in overall security spending is the Unified Security Budget (USB), the product of a task force organized by Foreign Policy in Focus and the Center for Defense Information (author's note: I was a member of the task force that produced the USB report). The most recent task force report calls for cutting $56 billion from the Pentagon budget by eliminating or scaling back spending on unnecessary programs like the F-22 combat aircraft, the Virginia class submarine, the V-22 Osprey, missile defense and nuclear weapons. The proposal then argues that $50 billion of these funds should be invested in peacekeeping, diplomacy, development of alternative energy sources, public health infrastructure and protection of chemical and nuclear plants. John Edwards has endorsed the concept of a USB, but it is not clear whether he would therefore move significant amounts of funding from the Pentagon to other security programs.

Even with the kinds of cuts outlined above, the United States will outspend its closest rival—China—by about five to one. Expenditures by actual or potential adversaries like Al Qaeda, the Iraq insurgency, Iran or North Korea barely register on the charts compared with the US military budget. Iran, the demon du jour, spends just above 1 percent of what the United States spends for military purposes.

But advocates of higher military budgets argue that US military spending should be measured not only against the spending of other countries but against the potential missions that the US military may be asked to carry out. A progressive defense policy needs to provide answers to the question of how traditional military threats should be addressed.

A list of primary missions for the US military should arguably include the following: defending US territory and the territory of key allies; intervening to stop genocide or ethnic cleansing; preventing and combating terrorism against US targets; and preventing the use of nuclear weapons against the United States or its closest allies. Except in extreme circumstances, action in any of these areas should involve regional or international coalitions. And as noted, many of these objectives, once primarily addressed by military means, may now be achieved using nonmilitary means.

Defense of US territory is principally a homeland defense mission, not a military mission. It should go without saying that neither Mexico nor Canada is going to launch a land invasion of the United States, nor is there any nation equipped to mount a major military operation by sea. As for the Administration's favorite fantasy program—missile defense—it has no capability for stopping a terrorist group intent on smuggling a dirty bomb or nuclear weapon into the United States.

This means that improvements in homeland defense should be the main instruments for defending US territory. These measures should include protecting chemical and nuclear plants; developing a rational system of immigration and border security that focuses on intercepting known terrorist suspects rather than imposing mass restrictions; improving training of and communications among police, fire departments and hospitals; and investing in public health institutions to improve their ability to detect potential outbreaks of infectious diseases.

As for dealing with aggression against US allies, there are relatively few cases in which US forces will be needed to carry out such a mission. Most key US allies, from other NATO countries to Israel to South Korea, are more than able to defend themselves from a conventional attack by their most likely adversaries. To the extent that US forces might be needed in a supporting role, their mission should be limited primarily to logistical support.

In the special case of Taiwan, the main line of defense should be political, not military. Making it clear to Taipei that its US security guarantee does not extend to a scenario in which it moves abruptly toward independence without consulting key allies would be one prong of a diplomatic strategy. The other would be to assure China that the United States continues to support a two-Chinas policy, while admonishing Beijing to forgo military action to seize Taiwan.

On the issue of humanitarian intervention, the United States has a mixed record, from late but significant engagement in Bosnia and Kosovo to a shameful lack of action to stop the genocide in Rwanda. In the ongoing humanitarian crisis of ethnic cleansing in Sudan, the most important role we can play is to provide financial and logistical support to regional and international peacekeeping forces while leading efforts to put economic and political pressure on Khartoum to stop supporting militias engaged in mass murder in the southern part of the country. The US role should also include concerted diplomacy to get China to cease its investment in Sudan's oil resources until the regime meets international standards of conduct. For possible humanitarian interventions in the future, objective standards should be developed based on the severity of the situation—an approach that would have dictated US involvement to stop the genocide in Rwanda.

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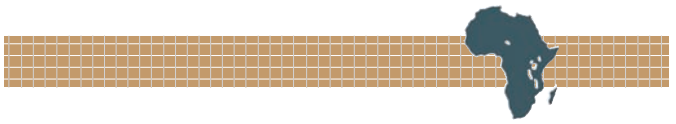
For all the Bush Administration's emphasis on military approaches to fighting terrorism, military force should be the last of the tools used in this effort. The tools of choice are better intelligence-gathering, efforts to limit the flow of funds and guns to terrorist groups, determined law-enforcement efforts aimed at improving on an already significant record of trying and convicting terrorist suspects in regular courts (as occurred in the United States before Guantánamo, as well as in Europe), and the possible use of air power or special forces to target specific terrorist training camps. One mission that should be ruled out is regime change as a way to sever connections—real or imagined—between terrorist groups and specific governments.

Not only would the security strategy outlined above forestall the need to increase the size of the Army and Marines, it would allow for cuts in the size of the armed forces, in conjunction with a reduction in US "global reach" as expressed by the hundreds of US military bases spread across the globe.

The level of detail set out here is unlikely to be discussed in the context of a presidential campaign, but it would be immensely helpful if the major candidates would at least rethink their commitments to outmoded security tools like an increase in the size of the armed forces and the use of veiled nuclear threats against nonnuclear states. Even if most of the measures proposed in this essay aren't implemented by the President inaugurated in 2009, an informed debate on the future of US security policy can bring much-needed change over time. ■



The Iranian Challenge

It's high time we shed false assumptions.

by TRITA PARSI

Iran will be the top foreign policy challenge for the United States in the coming years. The Bush Administration's policy (insistence on zero enrichment of uranium, regime change and isolation of Iran) and the policy of the radicals around President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (unlimited civilian nuclear capability, selective inspections and replacing the United States as the region's dominant power) have set the two countries on a collision course. Yet the mere retirement of George W. Bush's neocons or Ahmadinejad's radicals may not be sufficient to avoid the disaster of war.

Trita Parsi, author of the newly released Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran, and the U.S. *(Yale; www.treacherous-alliance.com), is president of the National Iranian American Council.*

The ill-informed foreign policy debate on Iran contributes to a paradigm of enmity between the United States and Iran, which limits the foreign policy options of future US administrations to various forms of confrontation while excluding more constructive approaches. These policies of collision are in no small part born of the erroneous assumptions we adopted about Iran back in the days when we could afford to ignore that country. But as America sinks deeper into the Iraqi quicksand, remaining in the dark about the realities of Iran and the actual policies of its decision-makers is no longer an option.

A successful policy on Iran must begin by reassessing some basic assumptions:

1. *Iran is ripe for regime change.*

Not true. Although the ruling clergy in Iran are very unpopular, they are not going anywhere anytime soon. (A distinction obviously needs to be made here between the electoral survival of the Ahmadinejad government and the survival of the system as a whole.) The Iranian people certainly deserve a better government—one that provides Iran's youthful population with a better economic future and respects human rights—but the current choice Iranians face is not between Islamic tyranny and democratic freedom. It is between chaos and stability. The increased tensions with the United States over the past year have only strengthened the government's hold on power by limiting the space for prodemocracy activists (much as the 9/11 attacks paved the way for the passing of the Patriot Act and the weakening of Americans' civil rights). Whatever we think of the clergy in Tehran, we cannot afford wishful thinking about their imminent departure.

2. *Iran is irrational and cannot be deterred.*

Not true. Iran's foreign policy behavior is highly problematic for the United States, but a careful study of Iran's actions—not just its rhetoric—reveals systematic, pragmatic and cautious maneuvering toward a set goal: decontainment and the reemergence of Iran as a pre-eminent power in the Middle East. Iran often conceals its real objectives behind layers of ideological rhetoric, with the aim of confusing potential enemies and making its policies more attractive to the Muslim nations it seeks to lead. At times it even simulates irrationality as an instrument of deterrence, the calculation being that enemies will be more reluctant to attack Iran if Tehran's response can't be predicted and won't follow a straight cost-benefit analysis. (Richard Nixon used the same strategy during the cold war, in what he called the "madman theory"; he sought to deter the Soviets by making them think he was slightly mad and unpredictable.) In reality, the United States—and Israel—have a long history of deterring Iran. During the Lebanon war of 2006, Israel signaled Tehran's leaders that it would retaliate against Iran if Hezbollah struck Tel Aviv with long-distance missiles. Tehran got the message. Despite many promises by Hezbollah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah to hit Israel if the Jewish state continued the bombardment of Lebanon, Iran prevented Hezbollah from using its long-range missiles. Deterrence worked, and an uncontrollable escalation of the war was avoided.

3. *Iran is inherently anti-American.*

Not quite. To Iran anti-Americanism is a means, not an

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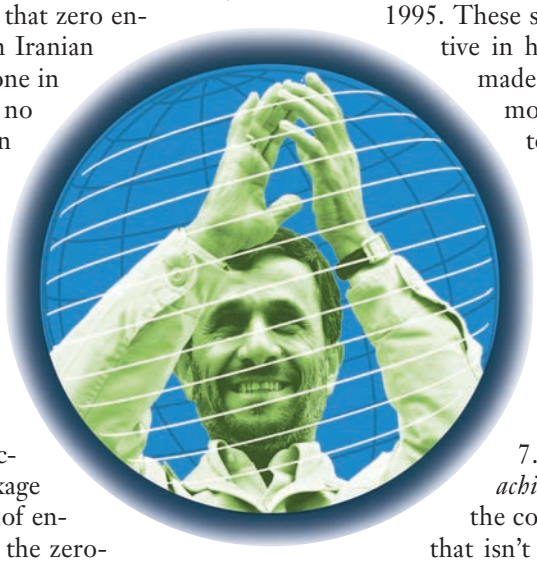
end. Iran believes that its size and power position it to play a major role in regional affairs. This aspiration, however, clashes with America's aim of isolating and containing Iran. As long as public opinion in the Middle East remains largely critical of the United States, and as long as Washington continues to seek a regional order based on excluding Iran, Iran will likely play on anti-Americanism to make Washington's policy of exclusion as costly as possible and to rally existing anti-American sentiment around Iranian objectives. But if the strategic environment in the region changes—with a different relationship between Tehran and Washington as a result—the utility of anti-Americanism will fade away.

4. *Enrichment equals a nuclear bomb.*

Not necessarily. The current nuclear impasse is partly rooted in the questionable assumption that zero enrichment is the only route to avoid an Iranian bomb. While the optimal situation is one in which Iran does not enrich, this goal is no longer possible. But that does not mean that a small-scale Iranian enrichment program is tantamount to a nuclear bomb. According to nuclear experts like Bruno Pellaud, former deputy director general and head of the International Atomic Energy Agency's Department of Safeguards, intrusive inspections is the best tool to ensure that Iran doesn't divert its civilian program into a military one. Yet these inspections can only take place as part of a package deal with Iran that includes some level of enrichment. This makes reassessment of the zero-enrichment objective all the more important.



5. *Iran seeks Israel's destruction.*

False. As I explain in my book *Treacherous Alliance*, the Iranian clergy have strong ideological antipathy toward Israel, but ideology is not the primary driving force of Iranian foreign policy. The major shifts in Israeli-Iranian relations, from pragmatic entente in the 1960s and '70s to strategic rivalry in the 1990s, have occurred because of changing strategic—not ideological—realities. Whenever Iran's ideological and strategic imperatives have clashed—as was the case in the 1980s, when the common threat from the Soviet Union and Iraq prompted Iran and Israel to pursue clandestine cooperation—realpolitik has prevailed. Today, Iran's ideological and strategic imperatives largely coincide. Israel is seen as a strategic and an ideological threat, and as a result Tehran has actively confronted Israel. But Iran does not seek Israel's destruction, nor does its attitude toward Israel lack pragmatism. In 2002 Iran signaled that it was prepared to adopt a "Malaysian profile" on Israel in return for an end to Israeli and American efforts to isolate Tehran. Iran would, much like Malaysia, be an Islamic state that would not recognize Israel and would occasionally criticize it but would not directly confront the Jewish state. Iran and Israel would simply recognize each other's spheres of influence and stay out of each other's hair. The message was communicated to Israel through various channels, including a presentation by a senior Iranian military figure at a conference in Europe attended by several Israelis. Ze'ev Schiff, the late military affairs editor of *Ha'aretz*, told me that the consistency of Tehran's message "made it more clear that this was a policy" and not just empty talk. Though Iran has a new and more radical president today, it is still ruled by the same Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and the concept of a "Malaysian profile" still enjoys support in the Iranian National Security Council—President Ahmadinejad's venomous rhetoric notwithstanding.

6. *The pressure on Iran is working.*

Questionable. Pressure alone will not resolve the Iranian crisis. Iran has been under comprehensive US sanctions since 1995. These sanctions have undoubtedly been effective in hurting the Iranian economy and have made Tehran's pursuit of its foreign policy more costly. But they have not forced Iran to abandon its policies. In fact, after twelve years of sanctions Iran is more powerful and more defiant than ever. Ratcheting up sanctions will be nothing more than a higher dose of a policy already proven to be unsuccessful. The combination of ineffective sanctions and unrealistic demands will get the United States nowhere.

7. *Stability in the Middle East can be achieved only through Iran's isolation.* Quite the contrary. History teaches us that an Iran that isn't part of the region's security architecture will be more destabilizing than an Iran that has been incorporated into the region's political order. In the aftermath of the first Gulf War, instead of pursuing an inclusive security architecture for the Persian Gulf, Washington opted to sign bilateral defense pacts with the Arab Gulf states while pursuing a new order in the region based on Iran's prolonged isolation. The policy was called "dual containment," the idea being that the United States would advance the Middle East peace process by containing both Iran and Iraq. What Washington failed to recognize was that the policy of exclusion provided Iran with incentives to undermine US efforts. And the weakest link in the American strategy was the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Without successful peacemaking between the Israelis and Palestinians, America's new regional order could not be achieved and Iran would evade prolonged isolation, Tehran calculated. Though Iran wasn't solely responsible for the collapse of the peace process, it did contribute to undermining it by supporting rejectionist Palestinian organizations at a time when the United States was at the height of its power and when Tehran was in a very weak position. Today the tables have turned. Iran is rising and the United States is mired in Iraq. Instead of repeating a policy that failed under the best circumstances, we must recognize that Iran's propensity to act as the spoiler will decline when it is included, not when it's excluded.

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Iran poses a complicated challenge to America, but not an irresolvable one. Despite the tremendous distrust between the two countries, history shows that negotiations can work. In 2001 Tehran and Washington worked closely together to defeat the Taliban and install a new government in Afghanistan. Without Iranian help, the new Constitution of Afghanistan would not have been achieved, according to US diplomats involved in the effort.

Similar cooperation, but on a lower scale, took place before the invasion of Iraq. In 2003 Iran sent the United States a comprehensive negotiations package, only to be snubbed by the Bush Administration. Clearly, success in negotiations can never be guaranteed. But neither can failure. We will never know whether we can succeed in negotiating with Iran until we try. And so far, beyond isolated instances, the Administration has not given broad negotiations a fair chance, nor has the United States pursued a policy of inclusion and regional integration. (A policy of sanctions and confrontation, on the other hand, is a proven failure.)

While hawks are presenting a wide array of arguments as to why we shouldn't talk to Iran—including the notion that, given the quagmire in Iraq, the hand of the United States is now much weaker than it was several years ago, as well as the idea that Washington doesn't have anything to offer—only Washington can offer Tehran what it really seeks: decontainment and reintegration in the Middle East. Iran wants a seat at the table and a say as a legitimate player in all regional decision-making. Iran can make it costly for the United States not to recognize it as a regional power, but it cannot gain its seat at the table without American agreement. This is an extremely valuable carrot Washington can offer Tehran in return for momentous changes in Iranian behavior. In fact, unbeknownst to decision-makers in Washington, America holds an ace up its sleeve. But this ace can be used only in the context of real negotiations.

These negotiations cannot be limited to Iraq or to the nuclear issue alone. The problems between the United States and Iran go well beyond these two issues. There is an underlying geopolitical imbalance that must be addressed. The previous order in the region has crumbled as a result of America's defeat of the Taliban and its subsequent failure to establish a coherent order in Iraq. Even if the nuclear issue and the Iraq calamity were to be resolved, the context that has given meaning to these problems to begin with—the collapse of the previous order and the absence of an all-inclusive security arrangement—will remain unresolved. Any agreement with Iran that does not address this fundamental issue is doomed to be short-lived.

Creating a new regional order, in which the carrot of Iranian inclusion is used to secure radically different behavior from Tehran, is neither a concession to Iran nor a capitulation of American (or Israeli) interests. Rather, it is a recognition that stability in the region cannot be achieved and sustained through the current strategy of pursuing an order based on the exclusion of one of the region's most powerful nations. To change Iran's behavior, we must change our own. ■

The good life on any river may depend on the perception of its music, and the preservation of some music to perceive.

- Aldo Leopold

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Combating Muslim Extremism

America should give diplomacy a chance.

by JUAN COLE

All the major Republican presidential candidates have bought into George W. Bush's rhetoric of a central struggle against Muslim extremism and have thus committed themselves to a generational, often self-generating war. By foregrounding this issue, they have ensured that it will be pivotal to the 2008 presidential race. The Democratic candidates have mostly been timid in critiquing Bush's "war on terror" or pointing out its dangers to the Republic, a failing that they must redress if they are to blunt their rivals' fearmongering.

Republican front-runner Rudy Giuliani in his recent *Foreign Affairs* article complains that the United States has been on the "defensive" in the war on "radical Islamic fascism" and says with maddening vagueness that it must find ways of going "on the offensive." He promises that "this war will be long." Giuliani is being advised on such matters by Representative Peter King, who has complained that "unfortunately we have too many mosques in this country"; by Daniel Pipes, who has questioned the wisdom of allowing American Muslims to vote; and by Norman Podhoretz, author of *World War IV: The Long Struggle Against Islamofascism*. Combining the word "Islam" with a European term like "fascism" is profoundly offensive; a subtext of anti-Muslim bigotry pervades Giuliani's campaign, a sop to the Christian and Zionist right.

John McCain depicts withdrawal from Iraq as "defeat," saying in Michigan on September 21 that it would "would strengthen Al Qaeda, empower Iran and other hostile powers in the Middle East, unleash a full-scale civil war in Iraq that could quite possibly provoke genocide there and destabilize the entire region." But continued occupation of Iraq, a major Muslim country, is just as likely to lead to the consequences McCain fears. Some front-runners, like Mitt Romney, argue for a big expansion in US military forces, without explaining how that would help with counterterrorism.

The Republican candidates have taken their cues from Bush and his Administration. They have continued to vastly exaggerate the threat from terror attacks (far more Americans have died for lack of healthcare or from hard drugs) and have demonized Muslims. India's Hindu-extremist RSS, the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, the Lord's Resistance Army of Uganda and Colombia's FARC (a hard-drug smuggler) are seldom referred to by Republican politicians worried about terrorists, even though all these movements have been extremely violent and have threatened US interests.

Advocates of the "war on terror" fantasize about the Muslim world as a Soviet Union–type challenge to the United States. In fact, the dozens of countries with majority Muslim populations are mostly strong allies of the United States. One, Turkey, is a NATO ally, and six (Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Kuwait and Pakistan) are non-NATO allies. Only fourteen countries have this status, so Muslim states make up nearly half. The United States counts many other friends in the region, having significant frictions only with Sudan, Syria and Iran, and those are mixed pictures (Syria and Sudan helped against Al Qaeda, and Iran sought a strategic alliance with the United States against Saddam Hussein in early 2003).

The Republicans are playing Russian roulette with America's future with their bigoted anti-Muslim rhetoric. Muslims may constitute as much as a third of humankind by 2050, forming a vast market and a crucial labor pool. They will be sitting on the lion's share of the world's energy resources. The United States will increasingly have to compete with emerging rivals such as China and India for access to those Muslim resources and markets, and if its elites go on denigrating Muslims, America will be at a profound disadvantage during the next century.

Some Muslim extremist groups are indeed a threat, but they have not been dealt with appropriately. Bush has argued that terrorist groups have state backing, a principle that authorizes conventional war against their sponsor. In fact, asymmetrical terrorist groups can thrive in the interstices of states, and September 11 was solely an Al Qaeda operation. In his speech about the conquest of Iraq on the USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1, 2003, George W. Bush announced, "We have removed an ally of Al Qaeda, and cut off a source of terrorist funding." It was a bald-faced lie.

Imperial occupations under the pretext of fighting terrorism suck up scarce resources and multiply terrorism, and so are self-defeating. They benefit only the military-industrial complex and political elites pursuing American hegemony. The backlash is growing. Sympathy bombings deriving from Muslim distress at brutal US military actions against Iraqis have been undertaken in Madrid, London and Glasgow, and a handful of formerly secular Iraqi Sunnis have suddenly expressed interest in Al Qaeda.

Worse, the hypocritical Bush Administration has ties to Muslim terror groups. The US military, beholden to Iraqi Kurds for support, permits several thousand fighters of the PKK terrorist organization, which bombs people in Turkey, to make safe harbor in Iraqi Kurdistan. The Bush Administration has used against Tehran the expatriate Iranian Mujahedeen-e-Khalq terror network, on which Saddam Hussein bestowed a base in Iraq. Democrats have mysteriously declined to denounce these unsavory alliances.

The Administration clearly is not very interested in doing the hard work of dealing effectively with small fringe terrorist networks. That is why Osama bin Laden is at large and the

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CIA unit tracking him disbanded. Successful counterterrorism involves good diplomacy and good police work. A case in point is the plot last summer by young Muslim men in London to bomb several airliners simultaneously using liquid explosives in innocent-looking bottles and detonators hidden in disposable cameras. Contrary to the allegations of skeptics, the techniques they envisaged were perfectly workable. The plotters were determined enough to make chilling martyrdom videos.

The plot was broken up in part because some of the conspirators were turned in to Scotland Yard by British Muslim acquaintances disturbed by their behavior. They had been alerted to the seriousness of radical views by the bombing of London's public transport system in July 2005. British police infiltrated an undercover operative into the group. The Pakistani security forces helped monitor a radical in that country, Rashid Rauf, who was in contact with the London group. That is, the foiling of this operation depended very largely on the good will of other Muslims. Such police and community awareness work has had proven results. In contrast, invading and occupying Muslim states risks reducing the fund of good will on which successful terror prevention depends.

Since resources are scarce, it is important that the magnitude of the threat not be exaggerated. Al Qaeda has at most a few thousand members. It holds no territory and its constituent organizations have been roundly defeated in Egypt, Algeria and other Muslim nations. Its command and control networks have been effectively disrupted. Most threats now come from amateur copycats. Al Qaeda has no prospect whatsoever of taking over any state in the Muslim world. It probably would be dead altogether if Bush had not poured gasoline on the flames with his large-scale invasions and occupations. For John McCain to proclaim that Al Qaeda is a bigger threat to US security than was the Soviet Union, which had thousands of nuclear warheads aimed at this country, is to enter Alice's Wonderland.

Very few Muslims are either violent or fundamentalist; most are traditionalist, mystic, modernist or secularist. Murder rates in the Muslim world are remarkably low. About 10 to 15 percent of Muslims throughout the world, or 130 million to 215 million, generally support a fundamentalist point of view, including the implementation of Islamic law as the law of the state. But they are not typically violent, and the United States has managed to ally with some of them, as with the Shiite fundamentalist Dawa Party of Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki. The fundamentalists are atypical. In a 2006 Pew poll, majorities in Egypt, Jordan and Indonesia were optimistic that democracy would work in their countries.

Because of its support for or acquiescence to Israel's creeping erasure of the Palestinian nation and for Israel's attack on Lebanon in 2006, and because of Washington's own brutal war in Iraq, the United States is poorly positioned to win hearts and minds in the Muslim world. In the last year of Bill Clinton's presidency, some 75 percent of the population of Indonesia (the world's largest Muslim country) had a favorable view of the United States. By the time Bush had invaded two Muslim countries, in 2003, America's favorability rating there had fallen to 15 percent. It recovered a bit after US magnanimity during the tsunami but then fell back to less than half the pre-Bush level. In Turkey, the favorability rating has fallen from 52 to 12 percent in the same period (all polling figures from the Global Attitudes Project of the Pew Charitable Trust).

America does itself no favors by neglecting to promote knowledge of the United States, of its political philosophies and social and political system, in the Muslim world. The United States Information Service was gutted and folded into the State Department in the late 1990s. There are very few American Studies programs at Arabophone universities, and very little US political philosophy or history has been translated. Likewise, Congress funds the study of the Middle East at American Universities at shockingly low levels, given the need for Americans who understand the region and its languages.

Extremist Muslim networks have a specific history, almost entirely rooted in reaction to many decades of European colonial domination or in the Reagan jihad against the Soviet Union, during which the United States gave extremists $5 billion, pressured Saudi Arabia to do the same and trained the extremists at CIA facilities in Afghanistan. Much of their subsequent violence can properly be seen as a form of blowback—black operations that go bad and boomerang on the initiating country.

Marc Sageman, a CIA case officer in Afghanistan in the late 1980s who is now at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, has estimated the number of extremists who could and would do violence to the United States at less than a thousand. There is a larger group that supports the creation of Taliban-style rigid theocracies in their countries and who are willing to deploy violence to achieve that goal. While their ideology may be unpleasant, they do not necessarily pose a security threat to the United States.

American politicians should cease implying that Muslim nations and individuals are different from, or somehow more dangerous than, any other group of human beings, a racist idea promoted by the Christian and Zionist right. They should acknowledge that most Muslim nations are US friends and allies. A wise American policy toward the small networks of Muslim extremists would reduce their recruitment pool by the quick establishment of a Palestinian state and by a large-scale military drawdown from Iraq, thus removing widespread and major grievances. An increase in visible humanitarian and development aid to Muslim countries has a demonstrable effect on improving the US image.

The reconstitution of the United States Information Service as an independent body would allow better public diplomacy. Promoting American studies in the Muslim world, in its major languages rather than just in English, would help remove wide-

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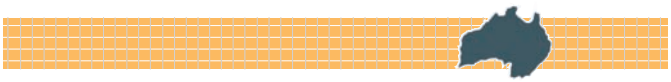
spread misconceptions about the United States among educated Muslim observers. Increasing federal funding for Middle East studies at home would better equip this country to deal with this key region. More adept diplomacy with the Muslim states, most of which are as afraid of terrorism as we are, could lead to further cooperation in the security field. Better police work and cooperation with the police of Middle Eastern states would be much more effective than launching invasions. It would also help if we stopped insulting Muslims by calling their religion "fascist." ■



Facing Hamas and Hezbollah

Refusing to negotiate is an unrealistic policy.

by HELENA COBBAN

One sunny morning in September 1993 I sat on the White House lawn, watching bemused as American political notables lined up for a "grip and grin" photo with Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin. For twenty-five years previously—and until just days before that morning's signing of the Oslo Accord—Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization had been judged by the US government to be a "foreign terrorist organization." On Capitol Hill and in most of the mainstream media, the excoriation of Arafat and the PLO had been long-lasting and virulent. But now, here were scores of Congressional leaders and media bigwigs lining up to be part of the new pro-Oslo zeitgeist.

What made the difference was that the Israeli government had shifted its stance. When that shift was made public, virtually the entire US political class turned on a dime. Today two very significant forces in the Middle East—Hamas in Palestine and Hezbollah in Lebanon—are in nearly the same position the PLO was locked into before the early 1990s. Indeed, this time the United States is more directly participating in hostile actions against the current "untouchables" than it ever was against the pre-Oslo PLO. After Hamas won the Palestinian parliamentary elections in January 2006, the Bush Administration orchestrated a harsh boycott of the new Hamas-led government, which left Washington's "pro-democracy" stance in the Middle East in tatters. Then in summer 2006, when Israeli airplanes and artillery were trying to wipe Hezbollah—and much of Lebanon's national infrastructure—off the map, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice worked overtime to prevent the Security Council from calling a cease-fire.

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Our country's diplomacy has been held hostage to Israel's preference to fight rather than engage with these two significant movements. But the United States has its own extremely pressing interests in the Middle East. Key among these are the need to find a way to withdraw from Iraq and radically de-escalate tensions with Iran in order to minimize US losses and lethal disorder in the region. There are many close links between the Persian Gulf and the Arab-Israeli theater. As the Baker-Hamilton report of last year rightly noted, if Washington wants to avoid catastrophe in Iraq, it must be prepared to undertake a vigorous and effective push for Israeli-Palestinian peace. Recently, the Bush Administration has attempted to look as if it is doing something on this issue. Bush and Rice are trying to organize a November summit in Annapolis to be attended by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. The Administration is also hoping for high-level representation from the Arab states, especially Saudi Arabia. But Washington has deliberately excluded Hamas. Indeed, the current moves are intended to weaken Hamas, which is often portrayed as merely a tool of an irredeemably hostile Iran.

Hamas and Hezbollah have both been on the State Department's list of terrorist organizations for many years. After 9/11, that designation became even more constricting as the Administration threw huge new resources into attacking the financing and propaganda/information mechanisms of a range of Islamist groups it had designated as targets in the "war on terror." The launching of this new concept completely blurred the distinction between those groups that, like Al Qaeda, aptly fit the description of "rootless cosmopolitans" and those that, like Hamas and Hezbollah, are deeply rooted within stable national communities to which they provide real services and to which they hold themselves accountable.

During the wave of decolonizations that occurred in the three decades after 1945, nearly all the decolonizing governments ended up negotiating the transition with leaders of movements that for years had been excluded from political participation (and usually also ruthlessly repressed and attacked) on the grounds that they were "terrorists." In the more recent past, the successful peace processes in South Africa and Northern Ireland started in earnest only when the ruling governments agreed to talk with opposition groups previously designated as terrorists. In both cases, the only criteria for inclusion were that participants agree to a cease-fire and participate in elections. The movements concerned—the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies in South Africa, and Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland—were notably not required, as a prerequisite for the inclusion of the political wing in negotiations, either to disarm or to change their founding platforms in any way. South Africa's Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) took part in the talks without being required to change their simple platform of "One [white] settler, one bullet."

In Palestine, Hamas participated peacefully, in good faith and with notable success, in the 2006 elections. From early 2005 onward it had, along with the other big Palestinian organization, Fatah, adhered to a unilateral cessation of attacks against Israel—which was not, alas, reciprocated by Israel. In Lebanon, Hezbollah has participated peacefully and skillfully in every national election since 1992, most recently winning

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fourteen seats out of 128 in summer 2005. (The party's support in the country is greater than those numbers suggest. The numbers of seats available to the Lebanese Shiites who form its main base is artificially small.) Hezbollah members have been ministers in Lebanese governments. Regarding its readiness and ability to observe a cease-fire, more than fifteen years have passed since Hezbollah used its weapons against any other authentically Lebanese movement. In addition, from 1996 to July 2006 it maintained its side of cease-fires negotiated indirectly with Israel.

Hezbollah contravened the cease-fire regime by infiltrating Israel and capturing two Israeli soldiers in the summer of 2006 (Israel had also contravened it, numerous times). In response, Israel launched a massive retaliation, attacking not only Hezbollah-related targets but major elements of the country's civilian infrastructure. At the time, as in the similar assault Israel undertook in 1996, Israeli leaders said publicly that their goal was to turn the people and government of Lebanon against Hezbollah. As in 1996, the attempt backfired, and Israel ended up having to negotiate an end to hostilities on terms that fell far short of its original goals. Indeed, Hezbollah possibly emerged from the war stronger than it had been before the hostilities. The organization and its charismatic leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, gained prestige all over the Arab world, including among many Sunni Arabs. The August 2006 cease-fire has remained remarkably durable ever since.

At this point, both Hamas and Hezbollah have shown by their actions that (1) they are capable of winning and holding the allegiance of a substantial portion of their national communities, as demonstrated in free and fair elections; and (2) they are willing to enter into cease-fires with Israel and are capable of exerting the internal discipline required to abide by them. If the Middle East were South Africa or Northern Ireland, we would conclude that they have more than met the conditions for inclusion in peace talks. But when Israel is involved, the US political class continues to make the extraordinary and unrealistic demands that before these organizations can be included in any political process they must completely disarm, both physically and ideologically—just like the PLO before them. (No parallel demand is placed on Israel.) Meanwhile, pending these organizations' complete compliance with the demands, nearly all US politicians hew to the position that it is quite all right to join with Israel in inflicting harsh, in many cases lethal, collective punishment on the 1.5 million Palestinians of the Gaza Strip, and in using covert intervention in Lebanon to whittle away at Hezbollah's power there.

What actions have either of these organizations ever taken against the United States and its interests? In the case of Hamas, none. Yes, it is true that US citizens visiting or living in Israel were killed or maimed during the suicide-bombing campaigns Hamas launched against Israel in the 1990s. But those Americans were not targeted because of their US citizenship, any more than Palestinian-Americans harmed by Israel's actions in the West Bank or Gaza were targeted because of their US citizenship.

At the rhetorical level, meanwhile, Hamas's leaders—like their confreres, the leaders of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood—are at pains to point out that they have no grievance against the American people. They firmly dissociated themselves from the 9/11 attacks—both at the time and since. But the Hamas leaders do ask why so many US politicians of both parties continue to be so one-sided in their support of Israel and so strongly biased against the Palestinians. One Hamas parliamentarian I interviewed in Ramallah last year argued that Americans should be glad to deal with Hamas, because "we are the moderates in the Islamist movement."

Hezbollah's case is a little more complex. The party was created in 1985 through the amalgamation of a number of armed resistance networks that grew up in opposition to the Israeli occupation of their country. (If there had been no 1982 Israeli invasion, there would be no Hezbollah today.) Before 1985 some of the pre-Hezbollah networks included people who, judging that the United States had supported Israel's invasions of Lebanon in 1978 and 1982 and Israel's proxy forces within Lebanon—and determined to end what they considered a hostile US military presence in their country—chose to punish the United States. In 1983-84 those networks used car and truck bombs in lethal attacks against the US Embassy (twice), against the barracks housing US Marines serving in a US-led peacekeeping force and against other US targets in Lebanon. When Hezbollah was formed, it focused its armed operations much more tightly on opposing Israeli occupation forces rather than against US or other Western targets there. At the rhetorical level, Hezbollah to this day holds to a clearly recognizable anti-imperialist position that sees the United States as "the heir to the Old Imperialism" and sees Israel as part of what it considers a US imperial plan in the Middle East. But it has not done anything to operationalize that analysis by attacking US targets either inside or outside Lebanon. There have been some allegations that Hezbollah has sent military advisers to train anti-US militias in Iraq, but these reports have never been confirmed (and given that Hezbollah's closest links in Iraq are with organizations affiliated with the government installed by the United States, they have a general implausibility). Like the leaders of Hamas, the leaders of Hezbollah also sharply dissociated themselves from the 9/11 attacks.

No aspect of Hamas's or Hezbollah's current policies should prevent Washington from dealing with either organization. Remember that when South Africa's apartheid government agreed to talk with the ANC, the PAC and other armed anti-apartheid groups, these groups were still—up to the time the negotiation-related cease-fire went into effect—actively targeting government installations and, in the case of the PAC, white citizens throughout the country. The same was true in the Northern Ireland talks and in all the negotiations over preceding decades that led to the freeing of scores of Third World

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countries from the shackles of colonialism. Contrary to what many American commentators seem to believe, sitting down to negotiate with another party does not indicate agreement with it but merely a pragmatic recognition that it is a force that must be engaged in the search for a solution. It should be noted that in Iraq the United States has now started to deal directly with tribal and political groups that were until recently involved in the guerrilla resistance against the US occupation.

American negotiators should seek forums within which they can engage representatives of Hamas and Hezbollah—along with other relevant parties such as Syria—so that all these players can energetically probe exactly how to resolve the remaining strands of the Arab-Israeli conflict in a way that is fair to everyone and gives all sides a path to a peaceful future. This is not a pipe dream. As long as Washington refuses to do this, the search for peace in the Middle East will be fruitless, because no sustainable peace can be built in defiance of the millions of Palestinians and Lebanese who support these two movements.

The strong bias that Washington has shown toward Israel for some four decades has served our country poorly. It continues to weaken US interests in the Middle East and far, far beyond. There are no signs that the Bush Administration's current round of coercive Palestinian-Israeli diplomacy will lead to an agreement more sturdy or sustainable than previous partial and unsuccessful agreements. If the United States is incapable of maintaining a fair-minded position in Israeli-Arab diplomacy, it should give up its dominant role. The United Nations could then take over, instead of acting as a junior partner in a US-led "Quartet" of powers, as at present. But whoever leads the peace-brokering will have to realize there can be no peace in the Middle East without somehow including Hezbollah and Hamas in the process. ■

Jobs, Justice and Democracy

Mideast policy must include development.

by AFSHIN MOLAVI

"My issue is cooking oil," Dya Alawa, a 37-year-old Turkish woman said on the day of Turkey's historic July election, which saw the Justice and Development Party (AKP) emerge with a resounding victory. "That's why I'm voting AKP," she told the *Washington Post*. For her, the election was simple: the economy has improved under AKP stewardship since 2002, her husband has less fear of layoffs at his textile factory and she can buy cooking oil at reasonable prices.

Indeed, Alawa is not alone. While the Turkish elections grabbed headlines and raised questions about the country's "secular soul"—as the AKP, a party with its roots in political Islam, won the presidency and retained the premiership at the same time—many ordinary Turks paid more attention to bread-and-butter issues of jobs, prices and the economy. Herein lies the irony of the AKP victory: it was not a victory of Islamists over Ataturk, nor was it a repudiation of Turkey's secular inheritance, as suggested by alarmed members of the secular establishment. The AKP victory was one of sound economic policy, amid an environment largely untainted by corruption, that made people like Dya Alawa feel secure about their future.

It's a lesson that the next US administration ought to learn well as it searches for a grand strategy for the Middle East and for the developing world. Far too often (and especially in the past six years), Washington has failed to listen closely enough to the voices of people like Alawa, instead preferring the urbane intellectuals who turn up in fellowships in Washington or visiting professorships at Harvard (and are granted meetings with the President and the Secretary of State). When we listen to the Alawas of the developing world, we hear a familiar refrain: we want jobs, decent wages, hope for the future and governments untainted by corruption.

These sentiments—which turn up in global polls of developing countries, and especially the Middle East—fuel the rise of populists from Latin America to Africa as well as "social justice" utopian Islamist movements from Morocco to Egypt to Indonesia that challenge the plutocratic elites often supported by Washington. The key words and themes used by the Islamist parties—justice, development, jobs, corruption of the ruling elite, the dangers of globalization—ring familiar to anyone who listens to the speeches of Hugo Chávez of Venezuela or Evo Morales of Bolivia.

In the Middle East/North Africa region—which has one of the youngest populations in the world and is awash in frustration at the status quo—this populist-versus-plutocrat dichotomy can be a winning card. The trouble is that most populists are good at sloganeering against the ruling elites but bad at governing. Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has governed as a probusiness moderate, not as a chest-thumping populist. Still, it was popular anger at the ruling elite amid the ruins of Turkey's 2001 financial crisis that spurred Erdogan to power.

Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad also played the populist card in the 2005 elections. At that time, the reformist wind had died down, as President Mohammad Khatami had been outmuscled by the conservative establishment. Iranians—gripped by an economic unease fueled by inflation, stagnant wages and anemic job growth—were either frustrated with the reformers and thus sat out the elections or were more concerned with the price of meat and onions than with abstract notions of civil society and dialogue among civilizations. Ahmadinejad exploited that latter sentiment well. He delivered a populist message and railed against corruption (and said nary a word about Israel or the Holocaust). It proved to be a winning card in Iran's admittedly limited elections. Unlike Erdogan, however, Ahmadinejad has not managed the economy well (in fact,

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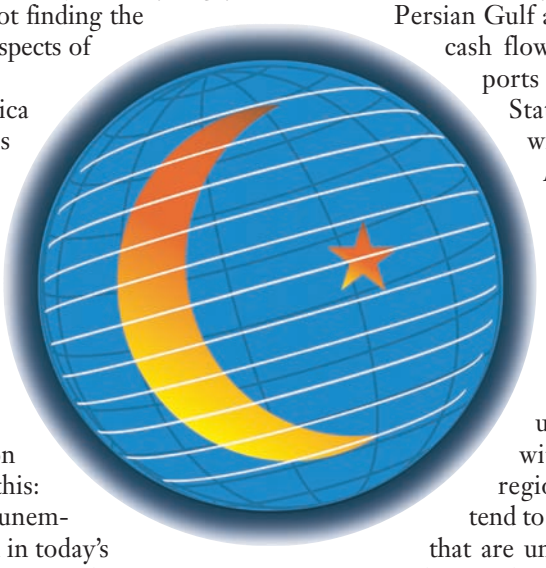
he has proven disastrous) and will likely face in 2009 a skeptical voting public frustrated by soaring inflation and unemployment (only a US-led attack on Iran might save him now).

Then there is, of course, Hamas. The only surprising thing about the Hamas victory was the surprise that it caused in Washington and London. Should it have been any surprise that long-suffering Palestinians, impoverished and underemployed, battered by years of Israeli occupation and wounded by the corruption and nepotism of the Fatah elite, would vote for Hamas, which has become to many Palestinians the symbol of resistance and provider of social services? In the Gaza Strip, where even before the postelection international embargo on Hamas, unemployment stood at 44 percent, nearly 80 percent of all Gazans lived below the poverty line and nearly 50 percent were under the age of 18, there were a lot of justifiably angry Gazans searching for redemption and not finding the right answers in Fatah, Israel or the prospects of a peace deal.



In many Middle East/North Africa countries, 67 percent of the population is younger than 24. The World Bank estimates that the region needs to create 100 million jobs by 2020 simply to keep up with its growing labor force. Right now, the region's unemployment rate, hovering at 12 percent despite steady economic growth in the past four years, is the highest in the world, higher even than sub-Saharan Africa. Demographers do not agree on much, but they tend toward unity on this: large youth bulges coupled with high unemployment is a recipe for instability. And in today's Middle East, middle-class unemployment and, more important, underemployment (most jihadis are middle-class, not poor) swell the ranks of extremist recruits in small numbers and Islamist populists in larger numbers.

With few exceptions (most notably in the smaller, more nimble Persian Gulf states), the region is plagued by corrupt state-dominated economies, excessive regulation and bureaucracy, and poorly constructed legal and regulatory frameworks that hinder private-sector development, foreign direct investment, small and medium-sized business growth, and job creation. Places like Egypt—the potential regional powerhouse—have shown signs of improvement, winning plaudits from the World Bank, but they have still failed to achieve that critical mass that would spur significant job creation and affect ordinary Egyptians' lives.

As a result, the region is full of distressed populations—who consistently rank jobs and finances among their top concerns—and a younger generation susceptible to the simplistic exhortations of antidemocratic radical Islamists and the new populists. Free elections across the region tomorrow would produce more Islamist victories, but candidates wouldn't win because they are Islamist; they would win because they are populist. With high unemployment and stagnant wages amid an environment of crony capitalism that has, with a few exceptions, failed to deliver widespread prosperity, any would-be candidate in a future election would logically take a populist stance.

While Al Qaeda may seem like a more immediate threat to US interests, the rise of chest-thumping anti-American populist leaders—in Latin America, the Middle East and soon in sub-Saharan Africa—might be the longer-term danger. The next administration will need a strategy to meet the challenge of these new populists, who for the most part will likely worsen the economic conditions of their people while repressing their rights in the process.

Here is where Washington and its wealthier Persian Gulf Arab allies can step in. The more populous, poorer states like Egypt and Morocco could use upgrades in infrastructure that would bolster their business development while creating immediate jobs on the ground. The next administration should take a low-key leadership role in working with its Persian Gulf allies to direct some of their abundant cash flow toward building roads, schools and ports in the Arab regions. Like the United States in the mid-nineteenth century—when large infrastructure projects put Americans to work and built the foundation for future growth—the Arab states could benefit from state-funded development.

Pursuing a strategy of economic development that would create immediate jobs on the ground would defertilize the soil for chest-thumping populists. This, however, must be coupled with substantive steps toward growing regional middle classes, since most jihadis tend to come from the parts of the middle class that are underemployed, marginalized and disaffected. It can be profoundly disorienting to emerge with a college degree or a master's, only to find yourself driving a taxi or selling fruit at a street stand. It's even more disorienting to make it to Europe only to find yourself jobless or struggling in menial jobs in an Arab ghetto in Marseilles or Madrid, groping for answers as radical imams seek to scoop you into their world.

As the next administration pursues a Middle East strategy, no issue will be more important than economic development. Widespread unemployment is an enormous human tragedy and a destabilizing social force, but it is also the largest obstacle to democratization. The transition to democracy is more feasible and sustainable when a country has a vibrant middle class, a healthy employment market, a dynamic and independent entrepreneurial community and vigorous economic development.

We should help governments in the region develop mortgage markets and financial institutions that would support small and medium-sized enterprises; then, homeowners and small-business owners would form the core of a middle class that prizes stability and just might pursue a greater voice in government. The new President of the United States should let it be known loudly that America cares about the economic future of the region, and not just with free-trade agreements. Indeed, he or she would do well to borrow some populist language from the Islamists and then back it up with serious

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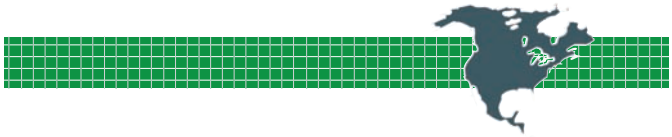
policies. This strategy of economic development would also bolster the long-term goal of democracy promotion—a goal that the next administration should pursue with far more subtlety and long-term thinking than the current one.

Economic development ought to be pursued vigorously not only because of its democratic implications but simply because it's the right thing to do: the dignity of work and economic opportunity ought to be considered a fundamental human right. A true embrace of the project of spreading prosperity would simultaneously expand America's soft power in a world where fewer people and nations trust Washington's motives than ever before.

Dya Alawa, it must be remembered, will vote for the party that lowers the price of her cooking oil, whether it be Islamist, secular, democratic or mildly authoritarian. In authoritarian states (as in most of the Middle East and North Africa) where voting does not determine rulers, people like Alawa and her sons will be attracted to Islamist populist groups, many of which are banned from entering the political arena but which provide the only muscular alternative to the ruling elites. A strategy of economic development will portend a better future for her and the millions in the Middle East, Latin America and the broader developing world who are caught between corrupt ruling elites who underperform and utopian populists who overpromise. ■



Relearning the Art of Diplomacy

Most candidates have no idea what it involves.

by ANATOL LIEVEN

The foreign policy component of the presidential campaign will be vital—to the vote itself, and to the interests of America and the world. Future US strategy will decide the lives, or deaths, of untold numbers of Americans and of others around the globe; and it will largely determine the extent of the terrorist threat to the United States. In the short term, it will decisively influence the state of the world economy; in the longer term, it will be crucial to the question of whether the major states of the world will come together to deal with challenges like global warming, or will yet again fritter away their resources on arms races and competitions for resources and influence. Within the United States, the extent of military spending and strategic commitment will largely decide whether funds and attention can be mobilized to meet pressing social, economic and ecological challenges. And US voters know this, as their unprecedented interest in foreign and military policy demonstrates.

Tragically, the foreign policy "debate" they are being offered by the political elites and mainstream media is to a considerable degree fraudulent. None of the packages the American people are being offered by the leading candidates envisage the kind of reduction in ambitions and commitments that would allow the United States to avoid the risk of future disastrous wars and to redeploy its resources for the well-being of ordinary Americans. None of the proposals from either party envisage the kinds of compromises with other leading states that would make such a change in America's global posture possible. Only rarely do the candidates appear to understand the concept of diplomacy, as this was understood and practiced by previous generations of American statesmen.

And it is diplomacy that American elites above all need to relearn if they are to deal effectively with the new global situation. Diplomacy not only in the narrow sense of the attempt to achieve reasonable—and therefore limited—ends by agreement with other states but in the broader ethical sense given by Sir Harold Nicolson in his classic work on the subject: "common sense and charity applied to international relations." In other words, reasonable compromises through an understanding of the points of view of other nations, based first on a respectful study of their interests, experiences and cultures and second on a realistic calculation of US strength relative to theirs and of US ability to influence their actions. This is something that all too many leading politicians and intellectuals of both parties find difficult to understand.

That does not mean that no differences exist. For example, on the evidence of their views on foreign policy as presented in articles in the September/October *Foreign Affairs*, you would have to be several different kinds of damned fool not to prefer John Edwards over Rudolph Giuliani. Even if you dismiss the differences between the Republicans and Democrats as largely a matter of style, in international affairs style does matter—as any Western diplomat who has had to deal with John "I Don't Do Carrots" Bolton can testify.

The pieces by Giuliani and Edwards (it cannot be called a debate, since they essentially argue past each other) are worth examining in some detail, for their significant differences and worrying similarities. This is especially true when it comes to "diplomacy," a word that both candidates use frequently but neither appears to understand.

Of the two, Giuliani's abuse of the concept of diplomacy is by far the more glaring. Throughout his essay, he qualifies the word "diplomacy" with muscular adjectives like "determined," "effective" and "strong," which largely cancel out its meaning. In a key passage, he (or his team) writes:

> Another step in rebuilding a strong diplomacy will be to make changes in the State Department and the Foreign Service. The time has come to refine the diplomats' mission down to their core purpose: presenting US policy to the rest of the world.... Our ambassadors must clearly understand and clearly advocate for US policies

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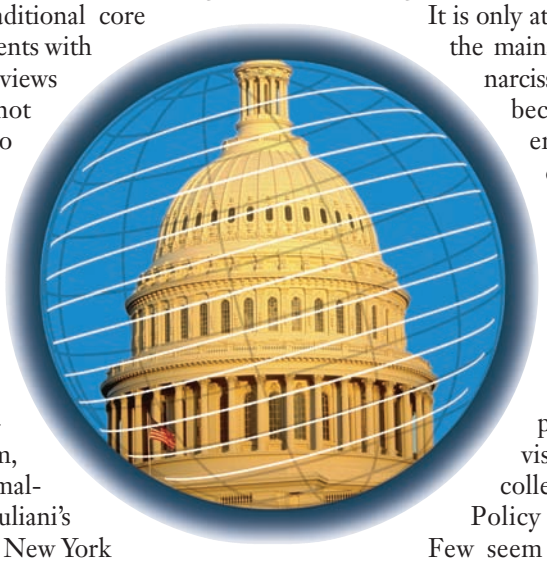
and be judged on the results. Too many people denounce our country or our policies simply because they are confident that they will not hear any serious refutation from our representatives. The American ideals of freedom and democracy deserve stronger advocacy. And the era of cost-free anti-Americanism must end.

Someone who truly cared about strengthening US diplomacy would probably do well not to display such ostentatious populist contempt for US diplomats. Much more important, however, is the misunderstanding by Giuliani and the Republican tradition he represents of the very nature of diplomacy. In his book, it evidently comes down to approaching people in order to shout at them loudly and at close range.

The role of US diplomats is reduced to that of messenger boys with megaphones. As to the traditional core functions of diplomats—to seek agreements with other states and accurately reflect the views of their governments—Giuliani does not appear even to know they exist. At no point in his essay is there anything about seeking compromises with any other country. In the case of Iran, he writes that talks with that country could work, "but only if we came to the table in a position of strength, knowing what we wanted." What the Iranians might want is obviously irrelevant. This is a recipe not for diplomacy but for demands for capitulation. In a milder form, the same approach is taken to even less malleable states like Russia and China. In Giuliani's fatuous image, the world is compared to New York under his mayoralty: the United States rallies good guys to overcome crime and chaos by "determined action."



It is an immense relief to turn from these blusterings to Edwards's essay, which is encouragingly titled "Reengaging With the World: A Return to Moral Leadership." In fact it is too much of a relief; for the great difference in style has a tendency to mask the lack of real content in much of Edwards's essay, indeed the similarities between the two positions. This unfortunately is true throughout much of the Democratic camp when it comes to foreign policy. The fact that they are not Cheney, Bolton, Giuliani or McCain has given them something of a free pass not to say too clearly what they would actually do that would be different, or even to advocate the same policies in a more civilized tone of voice. This is especially true of the vexed question of a new diplomatic strategy toward rivals and potential enemies.

The key opening passage in Edwards's essay reads as follows:

> We must reengage with our history of courage, liberty and generosity. We must reengage with our tradition of moral leadership on issues ranging from the killings in Darfur to global poverty and climate change. We must reengage with our allies on critical security issues, including terrorism, the Middle East, and nuclear proliferation. With confidence and resolve, we must reengage with those who pose a security threat to us, from Iran to North Korea. And our government must reengage with the American people to restore our nation's reputation as a moral beacon to the world, tapping into our fundamental hope and optimism and calling on our citizens' commitment and courage to make this possible. We must lead the world by demonstrating the power of our ideals, not by stoking fear about those who do not share them.

With relatively minor variations, similar statements have come from Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama and their leading advisers. Some elements in them are of course very positive: the mention of climate change, which finds no place at all in Giuliani's remarks, and the emphasis on not "stoking fear," something to which Giuliani's entire essay is dedicated.

It is only at a second reading—by someone outside the mainstream US discourse—that the intense narcissism of Edwards's intellectual approach becomes apparent. The talk is all of reengaging with *our* history, *our* hope and optimism and *our* courage. Once the United States has done so, it is taken for granted that first US allies, and then the rest of the world, will once again admire America as a "moral beacon" and accept America's leadership of the world.

The same attitude has been expressed by Edwards's foreign policy adviser Michael Signer and "liberal hawk" colleagues of Signer's from the Progressive Policy Institute who advise Hillary Clinton. Few seem truly to understand the lasting and severe damage done to US prestige and power by the Bush Administration and the extent to which the United States is suffering from strategic overstretch.

Even fewer recognize, or are prepared to admit, that from now on, other major powers will help the United States only if it respects their views and interests, and will refrain from challenging the United States only if it refrains from challenging them. During the cold war, when the West was held together by the threat of Communism, even the closest allies did not simply follow where the United States led: Britain was careful to stay out of Vietnam, for example. Things are much more complicated in the "war on terror," in which the United States often pursues policies in the Muslim world—especially regarding Israel—with which most Europeans and the overwhelming majority of Muslims disagree. Is a future Democratic administration prepared to change those policies to gain the support of more allies? If not, what can it realistically hope to achieve?

In dealing with most of the world outside Europe, the first task of US strategy today is as ancient as strategy itself: to prioritize. To identify which US goals are most important and actually attainable with the resources America has at its disposal. The second is to identify the priorities—or "vital interests"—of other leading states, the points that they will under no circumstances abandon short of defeat in war. Only if US policy-

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makers can succeed in these two tasks will they have any chance of designing a strategy based on reality rather than imperial and ideological fantasy.

When they speak of the need for diplomacy, too many Democratic policy intellectuals really mean only dealing with Europe and a few other democratic states like India and Japan. Together with the ideological formula of the "Democratic Peace," this leads to the idea—advanced by both parties—of some form of global concert of democracies. In its soft form, this has been put forward (in effect, though not in name, as a proposed Democratic administration strategy) by the Princeton Project on National Security. In a hard (and completely unrealizable) form, it appears in Giuliani's essay as a call for a globalized NATO, open to all states that share US values and goals.

This is a nice-sounding idea, but it ignores the inconvenient facts that many democracies today may easily cease to be democracies tomorrow—Thailand and Bangladesh being recent cases in point—while their interests and their importance (or lack of it) to the United States will remain unchanged. Even many relatively stable democracies like India are driven in their external policies almost exclusively by considerations of national interest—as in the current Indian rejection of US policies toward Iran and Burma. For that matter, during the cold war, the fact that India was a democracy altered not one jot the embittered hostility to India that Delhi's foreign policy produced in Washington.

When it comes to Europe, the latest pro-American statements of French President Nicolas Sarkozy's administration should not be allowed to disguise the fact that when it comes to helping the United States on key security issues, there is not much that Western Europe either will or can do. And as Angela Merkel's administration in Germany has demonstrated, while German governments may tilt this way or that with regard to Russia, no German government will sacrifice vital German interests for the sake of US strategies it regards as unnecessary and dangerous. The areas where Europe is a truly vital US partner are trade and the environment—but these are areas where most of the candidates are being very carefully vague.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that along with the laudable goal of strengthening the prestige and influence of the democratic ideal in the world, two less laudable aims lie behind the current popularity of the "concert of democracies" idea. The first is to help line the United States up behind particular states and against others in various parts of the world: with the Eastern Europeans against Russia; with Japan and Taiwan against China; and above all, of course, with Israel and India against the Muslim world. Far from bringing strength to the United States, this would lead to even greater commitments, greater overstretch and greater danger of being drawn into local conflicts.

The second task, closely connected, is to avoid diplomacy, in its broadest sense: the hard choices and painful compromises involved in dealing successfully with states like Russia, China, Iran, Syria and Pakistan. Such choices are painful for US national interests and values but also painful in terms of domestic politics, and therefore in terms of the careers of those taking part in the establishment debate on these issues. This is true

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above all when it comes to engaging in genuine negotiations in the Middle East; but to a lesser extent, it also affects relations with Russia, China and Western Europe.

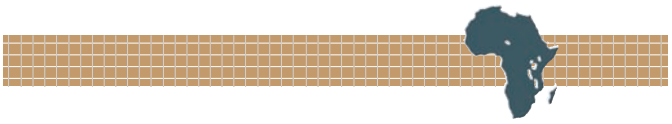
When it comes to the crucial issue of how to deal with real or perceived rivals and enemies of the United States, from Havana to Beijing, the Democrats either refuse to say what they would do differently or stress that they would continue to do the same things. For example, the extremely damaging bipartisan Council on Foreign Relations report of 2006 on Russia (*Russia's Wrong Direction*) was co-chaired by John Edwards and largely drafted by two former Clinton Administration officials, Strobe Talbott and Stephen Sestanovich. It was notable not only for its extreme arrogance and self-satisfaction but also for its complete misreading of Russian political realities. Founded on a belief that attacking the Putin administration helps strengthen Russian democracy and the Russian opposition, it missed the point that this kind of criticism infuriates most ordinary Russians and actually strengthens the Russian regime. Whatever happens, this regime will be in power for the foreseeable future, so the United States has no choice but to deal with it on a range of vital issues.

America's Russia policy is a good example of the failings of US diplomacy in recent years, and how they can be addressed. The US approach to Russia has been to push a whole set of agendas and demands simultaneously, defining all of them as a priority—which contradicts the very meaning of that word. Little effort has been devoted to identifying which ones are really important to the United States, which are really important to the other side, which are practically attainable—and indeed, which are actually in the interests of Russia's neighbors like Ukraine, which the United States claims to want to help. Both the Bush Administration and leading Democrats like Edwards have described their approach as one of "selective cooperation": seeking Russian support on certain issues while pushing strongly against Russian policy on others.

This approach ignores the fact that if the United States pushes against Russia on issues that Russia regards as vital—like NATO enlargement to Georgia and Ukraine—then Russia will certainly not help US vital interests in other areas, and on the contrary will push strongly against them. The same is true of China, Iran and any country with the ability to push back against what it regards as hostile US policies. This common failure to recognize something that should be so blindingly obvious highlights that incapacity to understand the perspective of other nations that so afflicts the Washington establishment of both parties and so hinders its ability to formulate sensible US strategies for dealing with the outside world.

In the case of Russia, three recognitions are essential. First, given their dreadful experiences in the 1990s, it is reasonable for a majority of Russians to prefer a more authoritarian government that guarantees basic stability and economic growth. We may disapprove of that, but it is not up to us to change it. Second, America's vital interest in the former Soviet Union is not the expansion of US power—for example, through NATO enlargement—but the preservation of peace and stability as the essential basis for economic and political progress. The need therefore is to work out with Russia a set of mutual constraints on intervention against Russia's neighbors, while understanding that in this region Russia's vital interests will always have to come first. Finally, if we want and need Russia's help on vital international issues, from nuclear nonproliferation to global warming, we must not deliberately treat Russia as an enemy on other issues of great moral and practical complexity, little real interest to us and great interest to Russia—like the issue of Georgia's separatist republics, for example. I have called this diplomacy, but as Nicolson pointed out, it is also just plain common sense.

To some progressive readers, a return to true diplomacy in dealing with other major states may smack too much of cynical realpolitik. In truth, however, no goal that progressives hold dear can be achieved without a reasonable degree of harmony between the world's leading powers. By the same token, a continuation of America's present drive for global domination—whether or not this is cloaked in the language of liberalism—can only provoke fierce and effective reactions from much of the rest of the world. As so often in history, we will then see hopes betrayed, resources squandered and progressive ideals prostituted in the service of vicious national hatreds and hopelessly megalomaniacal national ambitions. ■



Why We Need International Law

Undoing the Bush Administration's damage.

by OONA A. HATHAWAY

The many ways the Bush Administration has damaged America's standing on international law are all too familiar. Within six months of entering office, President Bush declared that the United States would not join the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, threatened to unilaterally abrogate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and revoked the US signature on the treaty creating the International Criminal Court. After September 11, the offensive only quickened. Soon there were revelations about the United States' brutal mistreatment of detainees at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo and the CIA's operation of secret black sites—in violation of the most venerated international treaties, which the Bush Administration dismissed as quaint and outdated.

These attacks on international law are sometimes dismissed as

Oona A. Hathaway, an associate professor at Yale Law School, is at work on a book titled Strong States, Strong World: Why International Law Succeeds and Fails and What We Should Do About It *(Princeton).*

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isolated events, disconnected acts of animus toward specific treaties or institutions. Nothing could be further from the truth. Behind these individual attacks lies a comprehensive vision of the rule of law in world affairs, one that treats international law not as a means of achieving American objectives but as an unnecessary and unjustified limitation on the exercise of American power. Consider the following statement from a 2005 Pentagon National Defense Strategy: "Our strength as a nation state will continue to be challenged by those who employ a strategy of the weak using international fora, judicial processes, and terrorism." International law in this view is not simply a worthless diversion. It is a real and serious threat to US national interests. Those who hold this extreme view have successfully guided foreign policy to break with the country's long history of using international law to achieve American values and interests.

As the 2008 election looms, it is time to challenge this dangerous vision and reaffirm and rebuild America's historical commitment to international law. No longer can critics of the Bush Administration merely show where it has gone wrong. They need to articulate a vision of international law and its place in US foreign policy that is grounded in our common interests and values. In laying out this vision, the point to emphasize is not that a renewed commitment to international law will help us win back the respect of the rest of the world (though it will) or even that the United States, as the most powerful country in the world, has a special responsibility to support international legal institutions (though it does). Rather, the case for international law as a cornerstone of American foreign policy should begin with a more basic message: only through a robust engagement with international law can the United States promote its national interests in the modern, globalized world.

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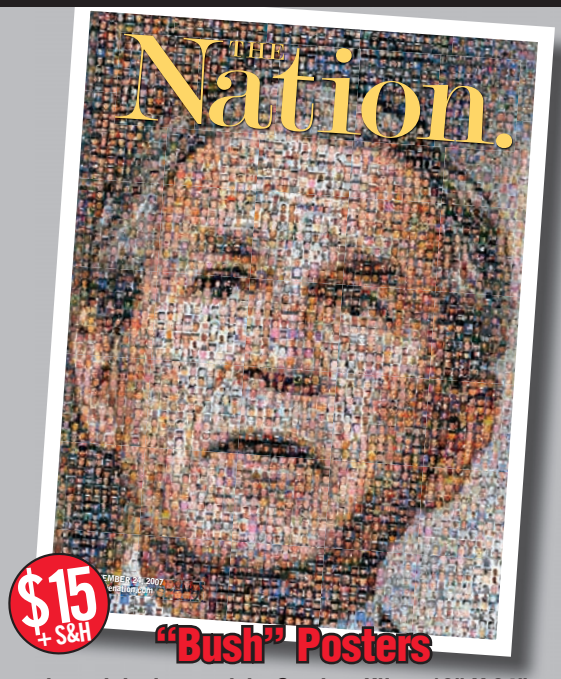

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In an interdependent world, international law is frequently the simplest, most effective and least expensive solution to problems big and small. Let us start with the many small ways the law improves our daily lives. It might be possible to fly an airplane from New York to Paris without the benefit of international law. But it would take a lot longer and would be a lot more cumbersome and expensive—requiring carefully chosen routes, long waits for overflight permissions and uncertain reception upon arrival. Likewise, it might be possible to send a letter from one part of the world to another or buy a piece of clothing from another country without the benefit of international law, but it would almost certainly be more difficult and cost a great deal more than it does today. Indeed, much of international law is indispensable for coordinating and regulating commerce, transport, communication and other hallmarks of global interchange. Without these basic ground rules, our dynamic global system would slow to a crawl.

Engaging with these basic international legal regimes is essential, but alone it is not enough to maintain America's place as a robust, modern world power. The greatest benefits of international law come from institutions that ask more of us and hence give more in return. The World Trade Organization, for example, ensures low-cost access for US exports to markets in much of the world. Yet we cannot take advantage of this access without giving access in return. And we cannot get others to follow the rules of fair play in the marketplace unless we are willing to do so ourselves.

But international law does more than establish the ground rules or level the playing field of international commerce. It also can help us solve many of the thorniest problems we face. Put simply, global problems require global solutions. There are many problems we cannot solve ourselves, no matter how powerful our nation or how committed our leaders. The most obvious example is global warming. Every country emits greenhouse gases, and every country will ultimately feel the effects of global warming. Yet no country can combat the problem alone. Even if the United States, which is one of the two biggest greenhouse-gas emitters, were to cut its emissions in half tomorrow, global warming would continue. That's because the United States is only part of the problem—and hence can produce only part of the solution on its own.

A less obvious example is terrorism. No state can effectively fight terrorism in isolation. Terrorist organizations evade national control by sending their money, people and weapons across state borders. Only by working together can states effectively combat this transnational threat. There are budding efforts to do just that at the United Nations—spearheaded by the United States. In the weeks immediately following 9/11, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1373 requiring states to take measures to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorists by criminalizing terrorist funding, freezing terrorist assets, suppressing recruitment of terrorist agents and prosecuting accused terrorists. Resolution 1373 and follow-up resolutions have proven to be some of our most effective tools in combating terrorism.

Yet they could be much more effective. So far, most of the

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efforts to combat terrorism through international law have been centered on the Security Council, where only a few states have a voice in creating the rules. This narrow foundation is particularly troubling given that the resolutions in some cases call for far-reaching changes in domestic laws of all states that are party to the United Nations. Not surprisingly, many of the states excluded from the lawmaking process have not moved to put in place the policies called for in the resolutions. A more broad-based approach—building, for example, on the multilateral International Convention for the Suppression of Financing of Terrorism—could achieve far more than the current regime.

By working constructively to improve and expand international law, the United States can also project its interests and values abroad without the use of force. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, whose husband was the principal architect of the United Nations, understood this well. As the cold war loomed, she led the effort to draft the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a document that aspired to universalize the civil and political rights at the heart of our Constitution. The human rights revolution that this effort spawned was one of the most powerful and positive developments of the century. Its legacy—more open democratic participation in lawmaking, broader freedoms of speech and assembly, more independent courts—has not only helped millions in other nations but has also encouraged other societies to pursue our shared ideals.

What's more, this approach already has the support of the American people. A significant majority of Americans today support the country's greater engagement in international law. A poll taken by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs in July 2006, for example, found that 79 percent of Americans believe that strengthening the United Nations should be a "very important" or "somewhat important" US foreign policy goal.

And public support for international law is not limited to a few narrow topics. It is consistently high across many issues and institutions. In a poll taken in 2000, for instance, 63 percent agreed that "it is becoming necessary to have more international standards and agreements among many nations on labor, human rights, and the environment." A more recent poll (from June 2005) found that 73 percent of Americans specifically supported American participation in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming. That same month, another poll found that 67 percent of Americans believed that the United States should comply with rulings against it by the World Trade Organization. Americans are undoubtedly as acutely concerned about US national interest as the current Administration. Yet they understand that this interest can often best be advanced *through* international law rather than in opposition to it.

The next administration should take a cue from the American people and return the United States to a position of leadership in international law. Restoring America's proper place in the formation and advancement of international law is the right thing to do, and it is also in the best interest of our nation. Whether the issue is terrorism or global warming, the treatment of prisoners or the regulation of international trade, there is no substitute for American leadership in support of international law—and no substitute for international law in support of American leadership. ■

The Great Debate of 2008

Leading Dems cop out on foreign policy.

by JERRY W. SANDERS

If ever the time was right for a Great Debate on America's purpose and place in the world, that time is now. But if early auditions leading up to primary season are any indication, the top contenders are either not up to the task or unwilling to take on the challenge of correcting the current course of failure in US foreign policy. Despite America's dire standing in the world and the President's record low approval ratings at home, leading Republican candidates have made it clear that they will deviate little from the geopolitics of fear and fantasy that have marked the Bush years. And while Democratic front-runners are quick to denounce the folly of the war in Iraq—at least in its execution—they appear reluctant to take on the worldview and logic from which it was manufactured and continues to be sold in anticipation of yet new adventures. So far, in shades too reminiscent of 2004, Democrats act as if the White House is theirs for the taking if only they can avoid missteps and duck charges of "weakness."

Should this continue to be Democratic strategy, it will be recorded as a miscalculation of enormous magnitude and a golden opportunity squandered. Public opinion polls since the antiwar election of 2006 have consistently demonstrated an appetite for a thoroughgoing repudiation of Bush-era foreign policy, reflecting the views of no small number of disenchanted Republicans.

At the same time, this emphatic rejection does not translate into support for retreat behind US borders, as throwback conservatives would have it. To the contrary, the majority of Americans favor something between these two extremist positions—a "responsible globalism" based on partnership with, rather than rule over or withdrawal from, the world and its peoples. Instead of succumbing to a contest of faux toughness that they cannot win, Democrats must be imaginative enough to stake out new ground and confident enough to defend it by reframing the terms of strength and weakness, security and power, for the world of the twenty-first century.

The Great Debate must confront the harsh realities that the Bush Administration will leave as its legacy. The pecu-

Jerry W. Sanders, chair of Peace and Conflict Studies at UC, Berkeley, is the author of Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment *(South End Press).*

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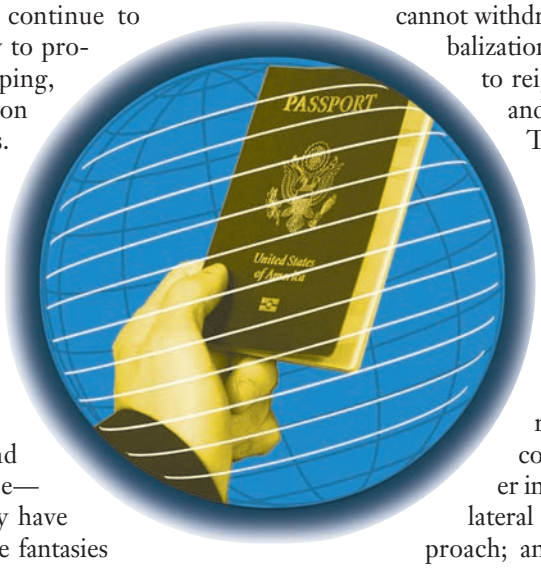
liarly twisted neoconservative version of power-centered realism and democratic idealism cobbled up in pursuit of empire has placed the United States in an untenable position, both overextended in the world the White House pretends to lead and isolated within it. Through their stubborn fixation on remaking the Middle East and their defiance of international law and world opinion for the better part of a decade, the Bushites have managed to shrink American power, in its hard and soft forms, while wringing "democracy" of meaning. The more the United States has acted alone or only on its own insistent terms, the more out of step it has become. While the rest of the world moves forward on the implementation of an International Criminal Court and a climate change accord, the United States stands aloof, registering objections. Networks of state and nonstate actors join forces behind the Millennium Development Goals and continue to make progress toward a "responsibility to protect" ethic as a standard for peacekeeping, while the United States drags its feet on these and other "new security" issues. Nevertheless, judged by Republican campaign speeches and the circle of policy advisers surrounding the candidates, the bluff and bravado of neoconservative doctrine will continue to be a force in the 2008 election, despite its abject failure as a framework for foreign policy.



This may seem to be good news for Democrats, but their complacency and their caution thus far suggest otherwise—and could prove their undoing. If they have been quick to denounce neoconservative fantasies of empire for having alienated much of the world, their nostalgia for a return to the hegemony of the Truman—or perhaps Kennedy, or even Clinton era—is itself a prescription for a world, and a United States, that no longer exists. True, the Democrats wish to reinvigorate diplomacy and lessen dependence on military force. They also spin out visions of a grand alliance of democracies and offer a nod to multilateralism, promising to consult with those they insist must once again fall dutifully behind America's rightful lead.

While the distinction between neoconservative claims to empire and liberal hegemony may be appreciated by academic theorists and policy wonks, the difference of these two approaches may escape a world grown deeply distrustful of US intentions and an American public impatient to chart a new course, not merely tinker with the old one. The world has not stood in place during the past decade waiting for the Democrats to retake the White House and reassert their own brand of dominance. What might have seemed plausible in the 1990s is no longer viable. The world has moved on, and so has the American public.

Despite the absence of leadership or even media attention on the subject, the American people have somehow grasped the deeper meaning of a rapidly globalizing world and the lessons this new context holds for the pursuit of national interest and security, as well as the place of democracy in the conduct of foreign policy. Americans, at least those beyond the Beltway, acknowledge the low opinion of the world for the United States, and they attribute this precipitous slide to a Bush foreign policy that causes others to view the United States as a military threat—even "a bully," according to 67 percent in a Public Agenda poll—a perception they believe undermines national security and furthers America's isolation. In a January 2007 poll conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA), Republicans and Democrats alike found America's diminished standing troubling, with 62 percent of the former and 81 percent of the latter in disagreement with the proposition that the United States is so powerful "we should go our own way in international matters."

If the American people understand that the United States cannot withdraw from a world interconnected by globalization, they also realize that it cannot expect to reign over it either, rejecting both empire and hegemony as strategies for a global era. The belief that the "US is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be" again enjoys strong bipartisan support in the PIPA survey, with 66 percent of Republicans and 85 percent of Democrats in agreement on this issue. In a Chicago Council on Global Affairs poll, only 10 percent subscribed to the idea that "as the sole remaining superpower, the US should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems." Multilateral cooperation is by far the preferred approach; an overwhelming number (75 percent) endorsed the view that the "US should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries" and, in a PIPA poll, should "think in terms of being a good neighbor" (79 percent) rather than insisting on a leadership role. Surprisingly perhaps, Republican support is only slightly less than Democratic, 85 percent versus 76 percent.

The multilateral preference is quite consistent and varies little whether the issue is terrorism or the looming crisis with Iran. When World Public Opinion asked, "Which do you think is the most important lesson of September 11?" 70 percent of Republicans and 79 percent of Democrats answered that "the US needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism." There is bipartisan support for a fundamental change in the means to that end as well, with 52 percent of Republicans joining 77 percent of Democrats calling for "more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods," rather than military might to combat terrorism. Moreover, a Chicago Council poll records a resounding 87 percent in support of "working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them," with 82 percent wishing to see the "trial of suspected terrorists in the ICC."

Similarly, in the case of Iran, a Public Agenda poll conducted this past spring found only 5 percent in favor of threatening military action and 8 percent in support of taking such

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action. When asked how the United States should deal with Iran, a solid 72 percent favored international diplomacy or international economic sanctions. These decidedly antimilitarist views were endorsed by 68 percent of Republicans and 78 percent of Democrats.

If the public has undergone a substantial rethinking of the relationship between security and power, it has also come to an understanding of democratization that breaks sharply with neoconservative dogma. A majority are skeptical of sweeping visions that portray the movement toward democracy as inexorable and desired by all people, and even more are skeptical of the notion that this trend can be hastened by exporting "democracy through the barrel of a gun," as former *Wall Street Journal* editor and neocon luminary Max Boot once infelicitously urged. Quite to the contrary, in a Third Way survey in March, an overwhelming 83 percent of Americans were found to hold the view that democracy cannot be successfully instituted by force.

At the same time, the public does believe that the United States can help create a more conducive international environment for democracy to take hold, naming support for human rights and development as key factors. In a Gallup survey fully 70 percent considered "building democracy in other nations" an important foreign policy goal, with 31 percent deeming it very important. Consistent with the public's views on security issues, multilateral cooperation is the favored approach in the promotion of democracy. A large majority (68 percent in a PIPA/Chicago Council poll) held that by working through the United Nations "such efforts will be seen as more legitimate" and therefore more effective.

Anyone following the early stages of the 2008 campaign will not be surprised to learn that there is a considerable gap between the views of policy elites and the average citizen, even a lack of awareness on the part of elites that the gap exists. A Chicago Council poll reports that "leaders do not realize that the public favors participation in the International Criminal Court, the Kyoto agreement on global warming, and UN international peacekeeping forces. They are also not aware that the public favors accepting collective decisions within the UN…as well as giving the UN the authority to tax such things as the international sale of arms and oil."

It is surprising, though, that these majority views are ignored by those seeking the Oval Office. It is not as if the current course is at all sustainable and that there is a more clever way smarter people can get it right. The more the United States projects power out over the world, the more distrusting and resentful the world becomes, as America itself becomes dangerously overextended from the effort. Faced with capability and credibility gaps of the Bush years, the mythic strain of American exceptionalism, which insists that the United States by destiny and necessity must be the leader of the world—by one formula or another—over those who do not need or wish to be led, is a conceit the United States can ill afford.

Not only is hegemony unsustainable as a strategy of global governance, it is also unnecessary for electoral success. When a Third Way poll queried the public on its opinion of the exceptionalist narrative, a majority (58 percent) of Americans agreed that "It is a dangerous illusion to believe America is superior to other nations [and therefore] we should not be attempting to reshape other nations in light of our values." Only 36 percent agreed with what seems to be a bipartisan consensus among the presidential frontrunners that "America is an exceptional nation with superior political institutions and ideals and a unique destiny to shape the world." The public grasps the paradox of power today in ways elites have not, defying the conventional wisdom that holds that when it comes to foreign policy the former is provincial and the latter cosmopolitan in their views. Today the reverse is true.

America's standing in the world cannot be restored by dusting off old strategies from the past for reuse in a new century. The times require more, and the public deserves better. The presidential candidate who says as much and begins to chart the cartography of "responsible globalism" fitted for the demands of a global era will find a welcoming audience abroad and a receptive constituency at home. He or she will, of course, have to buck the politics of fear and attacks from the peddlers of crisis, as well as the predictable counsels of caution from assorted policy elites and advisers. But this is where real leadership will be sorted out in 2008, and why we are in desperate need of a Great Debate to find it. ■

Exchange

(continued from page 2)

action tying Harken to BCCI, and Moscow has never had any dealings with me.

I am neither "mysterious" nor "notorious," except in the eyes of people who hurt others for their own political purposes. *The Nation* says its mission is to "wage war… upon the vices of…exaggeration and misrepresentation," but it looks like exaggeration and misrepresentation are the norm there.

Alan G. Quasha

Washington, DC

"Hillary's Mystery Money Men" has been swiftly discredited upon publication. Russ Baker and Adam Federman failed to conduct a basic fact-check before publication, resulting in significant errors about myself and others, to which I now draw your attention.

Two inherent problems relate to me personally: when I did respond to questions from the authors, the information I provided was not included in the article. When I did not respond to questions from the authors, they simply made up their own facts. (Perhaps this is why the authors circumvented the fact-checking process.)

I won't detail each error across every page of this sloppy piece of journalism; others featured in the piece have already registered their complaints and corrections. Instead, I summarize the major facts the authors simply got wrong:

1. I did not receive $18 million for the sale of my Global Crossing interests. Please refer to pages 318-20 in my bestselling memoir, *What a Party!*

2. For the record, yet again: in 2005, after I had completed my term as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, my good friend Hassan Nemazee hired me at Carret Asset Management as vice chairman. This was a nonexecutive advisory role, a role I had played for numerous other companies.

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Exchange

3. The authors embarrass themselves when they intimate that I intentionally omitted my Carret involvement from my bestselling memoir, *What a Party!*, and infer that I was trying to conceal my involvement. But had they simply picked up the book in the course of their investigative journalism, they would have seen that it ends with the day I drove away from the Democratic National Committee.

4. The authors infer that I "weighed in" on hedge funds in a speech at the 2006 investors' conference for Brean Murray Carret. I did not give a speech about hedge funds; I gave an overview of the upcoming midterm elections. I give speeches across and outside the United States, and the topic is always politics.

5. Quasha has articulated his many concerns already, but I will reiterate several key points involving Quasha's and my name:

a. I was not hired at Carret by Quasha.

b. Quasha never once set foot in Carret's Washington office.

c. Quasha has never had a role in the Clinton campaign. (If the authors had bothered to contact the campaign staff, they would have quickly learned this.)

This article has proven to be an embarrassment for all involved: the authors, who did not bother to fact-check; me and others who found themselves in an error-laden piece; and *The Nation*, whose reputation of quality journalism on progressive issues is now soundly tarnished.

Terence R. McAuliffe

Baker & Federman Reply

New York City

Terry McAuliffe's letter is a masterful effort at obfuscation and indirection. In fact, McAuliffe never responded directly to any of our numerous attempts to interview him, nor did he respond to a detailed list of questions we submitted. When we last communicated with his spokesperson, Tracy Sefl, she said, "He's been familiar with the material from the first time we spoke. I don't have answers, and I don't think there will be answers." We did include the entirety of the sparse information Sefl was able to provide us—namely, that McAuliffe was an adviser to Carret.

Both McAuliffe and Alan Quasha claim erroneously that we did not contact the Clinton campaign. As campaign chair, McAuliffe, at least, should know otherwise. Not only did we contact him (through two different offices), we also exchanged e-mails with Hillary Clinton's traveling press secretary, Jay Carson, and told Carson that our forthcoming article would deal with Clinton, McAuliffe, Quasha and Quasha's partner, Hassan Nemazee.

McAuliffe's complaint about our mention of his Global Crossing stock is baffling. On page 318 of his memoir, he mentions the stock but not how much of it he sold or how much he received for it—only that as a private investor he "was under no obligation to share that information." However, in 1999 he told the *New York Times* that he received about $18 million. A few years later his spokesperson said the *Times* had "created" the figure. But in his memoir McAuliffe relates an encounter on Fox's *Hannity and Colmes.* When asked about the $18 million, McAuliffe replied, "What are you, jealous or something?"

It hardly matters whether Quasha set foot in Carret's Washington office, but in any case we do not say he did. As to whether Quasha is a secret force behind the Clinton campaign, that is not our focus, and we don't think it really matters whether it was Quasha, as chair of Carret, or his partner Nemazee who technically hired McAuliffe as company vice chair. The fact is that Quasha donated the maximum to Hillary Clinton's campaign, and, more important, the company owned by him and Nemazee, a top Clinton fundraiser, hired McAuliffe in 2005.

On the hedge fund issue: in our list of questions to McAuliffe we asked him about his 2006 speech, but McAuliffe did not respond, and Brean Murray, Carret was unable to provide a transcript. Nevertheless, according to advance publicity material, the subject of his speech would be not just "politics" (as McAuliffe claims) but "the current political debate in Washington, DC and its impact on Wall Street and the status of potential further hedge fund regulation."

Quasha's claims, many extraneous to our article, are no more substantive than McAuliffe's. Harken's many indirect ties to BCCI have been well documented for years; a quick Google search will tell the story. Nonetheless, we do not assert that there has ever been legal action tying Harken to BCCI, and we do not say Quasha "had dealings" with John Moscow, whose office, in its BCCI-related prosecutions, obtained sixteen convictions and $1.65 billion in restitution for the victims of the largest banking fraud in history.

As for Harken's financial record, *Platts Energy Economist* describes the company as "a modern economic marvel," somehow staying afloat after having accumulated $370 million in losses over a thirty-year period. In 1991 the SEC forced the company to restate its earnings.

We are unaware of any evidence supporting Quasha's claim that his father and Marcos were "well-known adversaries." According to *Platts*, William Quasha, a Manila-based attorney, was a "close acquaintance" of Marcos. And in 1986 William Quasha pronounced the disputed re-election of Marcos "the least dishonest and least bloody" election since Philippine independence from the United States, in a statement printed in the progovernment press. The American Chamber of Commerce condemned his defense of the election and of Marcos and issued its own statement deploring his "partisan approach."

Regarding Alan Quasha's company's activities in China, here are the facts: Carret Asset Management, through an affiliate called Carret Securities, acquired Brean Murray & Co. in 2005. In 2006 Brean Murray, Carret acted as the sole placement agent in a major transaction facilitating the manufacture of surveillance systems to monitor Internet activity in China. House Foreign Affairs Committee chair Tom Lantos recently called US involvement in the Chinese surveillance industry "an absolutely incredible phenomenon of extreme corporate irresponsibility."

On the assertions by Joe Wozny and Renee Carret, we did not misquote either. Also, Wozny never expressed animosity toward Quasha or Carret; he simply volunteered that Quasha and Bill Clinton had met numerous times. As for Carret, we interviewed her on several occasions, by phone and in person. She told us she left the firm at the time of Quasha's takeover and stated that Quasha called to invite her to lunch, unaware that she had already resigned.

Quasha does not dispute that Carret's Washington office was closed after McAuliffe left. As for what was written on the door, those who worked on the same floor and who visited McAuliffe and Peter O'Keefe on several occasions did not recall a nameplate or what it said—they only recalled thinking of the office simply as McAuliffe's and said they had never heard of Carret.

Finally, let us underline the central question in our article, one neither McAuliffe nor Quasha chooses to address in his letter: did the hiring of McAuliffe have anything to do with his ties to top Democrats, and especially Hillary Clinton?

Russ Baker and Adam Federman

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Books & the Arts.

K. SATISH

Activists and displaced citizens at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi protest a major dam project on the Narmada River, 2006.

The View From Jantar Mantar

by BASHARAT PEER

On August 13, 1993, two days before India's forty-sixth Independence Day, I was traveling by train from Kashmir to a high school near New Delhi. A few hours into the journey, as the maroon Shalimar Express entered the north Indian plains in Punjab, two Indian soldiers entered my compartment. Like me, the soldiers had made a twelve-hour journey through the high mountains of the Kashmir Valley to the railway station in the state's southern province of Jammu. Ahead of us was a fourteen-hour train ride to New Delhi. The soldiers smiled and dropped their bags in the aisle. "Will you please make room for us?" one of them asked a middle-aged man reading a newsmagazine. "We are going home after a year in Kashmir and don't have any reservations." The man was unmoved. The soldier repeated his request, and as I squirmed in my seat another passenger pointed at the dirty aisle floor and said, "You may sit there."

I was stunned. Unlike people in Kashmir, my north Indian co-passengers had no reason to be scared of the soldiers: they ordered them around and the soldiers obeyed. After a while the ticket examiner arrived. "What are you doing here?" he barked at the soldiers. "Sir, there is no room in other compartments. Sir! Please adjust us somewhere," they pleaded. He asked the soldiers to leave the coach and began to walk away. They followed him. A few minutes later they returned and installed themselves on the floor. "How much did he charge you?" someone asked. "Fifty rupees each." My co-passengers laughed and chatted about corruption. "This is India," declared the man with the newsmagazine.

The India I had seen in Kashmir was different. It was not a shining example of the world's largest democracy but instead the military arm of an occupying power whose rule we resented. Political discontent had been simmering in the Indian-controlled portion of Kashmir since the 1947 partition of British India and the birth of the nation-states of India and Pakistan, and more so in recent decades as India curtailed Kashmiri political rights and autonomy. A separatist rebellion against Indian rule broke out in 1989, and since then more than 70,000 people—mostly Kashmiri civilians and militants, but also Indian soldiers and Pakistani militants—have been killed. After 1990, gun battles, land mine blasts, identity checks, arrests, looting and torture became routine in Kashmir.

When, like thousands of other Kashmiri students escaping the war, I left Kashmir for my Indian school, I was well acquainted with power and fear. In the Shalimar Express, the look I saw on the soldiers' faces suggested they were as well. Outside Kashmir, without

Basharat Peer is an assistant editor at Foreign Affairs. Curfewed Night, *his memoir of the Kashmir conflict, will be published by Random House in India in March 2008.*

India After Gandhi
The History of the World's Largest Democracy.
By Ramachandra Guha.
Ecco. 893 pp. $34.95.

The Clash Within
Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future.
By Martha Nussbaum.
Belknap. 403 pp. $29.95.

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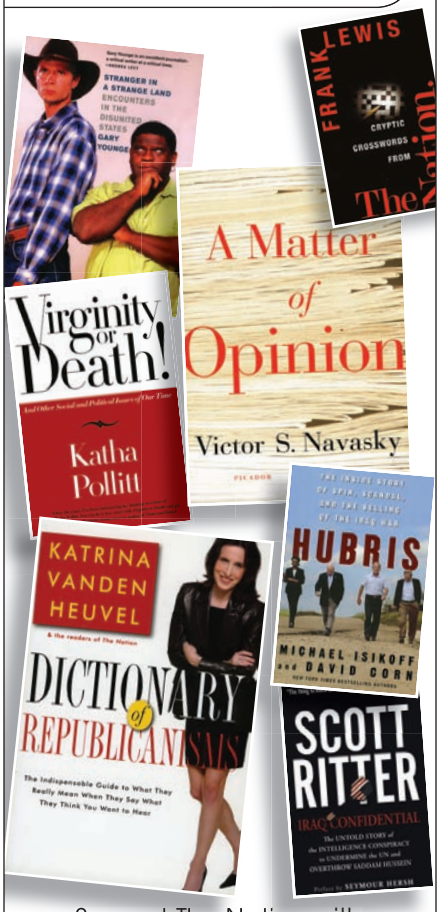

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the authority enjoyed by soldiers in "disturbed zones" (granted by India's Armed Forces Special Powers Act of 1958) to shoot anyone they deem suspicious; without their armored vehicles and machine guns; surrounded by fellow Indians from the lower and middle classes; confronted by the ticket examiner, a small-time representative of the law—facing all this, the soldiers seemed helpless. And so they made their voyage home sitting on the dirty floor. In that crowded coach, India seemed a more benign place. I ended up spending nearly a decade and a half outside the coach. Living in different Indian cities and towns as a student and a journalist, I came to know Indian democracy as a crowded collage of disparate and often violently clashing realities.

Living in India means enduring endless and often heated discussions about India. The Nobel Prize–winning economist Amartya Sen argues that the richness of the tradition of argument is particularly relevant to the "development of democracy in India and the emergence of its secular priorities." The tradition was thriving in 1946, when the members of India's constituent assembly gathered in New Delhi to debate the drafts of the Constitution the new country was to adopt. The assembly, whose 300 members included socialists, Hindu nationalists, supporters of feudalism, upper-caste Brahmans, Muslims, women, untouchables and other lower castes, received public submissions ranging from demands to base the Constitution on "ancient Hindu works" to requests for "adequate representation" from members of the Central Jewish Board of Bombay. "These submissions testified to the baffling heterogeneity of India, but also to the precocious existence of a 'rights culture' among Indians," writes historian and biographer Ramachandra Guha in *India After Gandhi*, a lucid and engaging summary of independent India.

Guha, a well-known public intellectual in India, has also written on environmental history, the social history of cricket and many aspects of India's cultural and political history. The story told in *India After Gandhi* is not a revelation for South Asian readers, but it is certainly the first attempt by a historian to compress into a single book a story previously scattered in hundreds of books, newspapers, journals and other archival material. Guha was chosen by the remarkable former publisher of Picador UK turned literary agent, Peter Straus, to write this book. After reading an essay by Guha in the journal *Past and Present*, Straus tracked him down, visited his home in Bangalore and suggested that he write a history of independent India.

Freedom to argue about the constitutional character of an independent India came at a great price, as the bloody partition of the subcontinent killed and displaced millions of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs from both sides of the hastily drawn border between India and Pakistan. The border, known as the Radcliffe Line, was named after the British judge Cyril Radcliffe, who had finalized its jagged path. Radcliffe was a stranger to India. After arriving in New Delhi from London in early July 1947, he had just five weeks to complete his task. He knew his line would stir up strife. "There will be roughly 80 million people with a grievance looking for me. I do not want them to find me," he wrote to his nephew soon after his arrival. The Radcliffe Line divided the north Indian province of Punjab into Indian Punjab and Pakistani Punjab, and in the east it divided Bengal into West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan, which became Bangladesh in 1971. It was these two divided provinces that saw the worst violence after the partition. In the late '90s, Intizar Hussain, the foremost short story writer of Pakistan, wrote in a collection of essays, *Chiragoon Ka Dhoowan* (*The Flight of History*), about traveling in a dark train coach from his hometown near Delhi to Lahore. He and his fellow Muslim passengers, paralyzed by the fear of an attack from a Sikh or Hindu mob outside, are quiet as the train rumbles toward the border. A flicker of light inside the coach startles them. It is only a young fellow traveler trying to light a cigarette. Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan have similar stories about the looming threat of fratricide.

One of the biggest administrative tasks confronting the new Indian government was to resettle millions of refugees. Guha evocatively describes the biggest refugee camp, erected in Kurukshetra, a town a few hours from Delhi, where around 300,000 Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan were housed in tents, provided rations and even shown screenings of Donald Duck and Mickey Mouse cartoons. In stark contrast to today's mostly inefficient, corrupt and indifferent Indian bureaucracy, Guha explains, social workers and unnamed officials, led by London School of Economics graduate Tarlok Singh, had made 250,000 allotments of land by November 1949. The refugees set about "digging new wells, building new houses, planting new crops. By 1950 a depopulated countryside was alive once again."

The princely states that resisted joining the Indian Union, especially Hyderabad, Junagadh and, foremost, Kashmir, required a different kind of cultivation. Guha tells a gripping story of the taming of princes

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through a mixture of coercion and persuasion, orchestrated by the home minister, Vallabhbhai Patel, a man who sought "practical proof" of loyalty from the millions of Indian Muslims who stayed in India instead of migrating to Pakistan. Patel, who believed that most of these Muslims had earlier supported the demand for an independent Pakistan, had his secretary direct the secretaries of all other departments to monitor Muslims working under them. Guha reproduces the chilling letter: "I would request you to prepare lists of Muslim employees in your Ministry and in the offices under your control, whose loyalty to the Dominion of India is suspected or who are likely to constitute a threat to security." Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru disapproved of such witch-hunt tactics, and according to Guha, "Whereas the home minister demanded that the Muslims prove their loyalty, the prime minister placed the onus on the Indian state, which had a constitutional obligation to make all its citizens, especially the Muslims, feel secure."

Patel's death in 1950 created an opportunity for Nehru to fashion the government and the nation according to his vision of a secular modern democracy. He overcame the Indian National Congress Party leaders sympathetic to the Hindu extremists and prepared for India's first general election in 1952. The Congress Party faced electoral opposition from the Socialists, the Hindu-right Jana Sangh, the Communists and even B.R. Ambedkar, the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution and great leader of the untouchables, who felt that the Congress Party wasn't doing much to benefit his constituency. Yet Nehru led his party to victory by campaigning on the strength of personal charisma, the idea of national unity and the principle of secularism, which he established as the civil religion of India. Nehruvian secularism aspired to equal treatment of all religions by the state and insisted on the separation of political office and religious institutions. Nehru was very critical of Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India, when Prasad presided over a reconstruction ceremony of Gujarat's Somnath temple, which had been destroyed by a medieval Muslim chief, Mahmud of Ghazni, a native of Ghazni in what is now Afghanistan. For Guha, one measure of Nehru's secular vision is the fact that the 1952 election was a successful civil engineering project: "Some 224,000 polling booths were constructed and equipped with 2 million steel ballot boxes, requiring 8,200 tons of steel. About 380,000 reams of paper were used for printing the rolls."

Nehru led India until his death in 1964. His achievements included largely democratic government institutions and an economic model called Nehruvian Socialism, which relied on high tariffs and other measures to protect national industries and promote economic self-sufficiency. He also made India a strong backer of decolonization movements in Asia and Africa. Nehru's succession by the veteran but uncharismatic Congress leader Lal Bahadur Shastri, and the emergence of Nehru's difficult daughter, Indira Gandhi, as head of the Congress Party and, eventually, the nation's prime minister, made many Western observers question the viability of Indian democracy. "There was a line of thinking, widely prevalent in the West, which held that only the personality and example of Jawaharlal Nehru had kept India united and democratic," Guha writes. He is obsessed with tracking down advocates of this line in publications like *The Atlantic Monthly*, the *New York Times* and the *Times* of London, and in the writings of various social scientists, almost vindictively digging out the most obscure comment and refuting its "doomsday" proclamations with evidence that Indian democracy had survived.

Yet such stern judgments are absent whenever Guha writes about how Nehru failed democracy, such as when he imprisoned the prime minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, who was also Nehru's personal friend, in 1953, after Sheikh Abdullah talked about the possibility of Kashmiri independence. Had Sheikh Abdullah not been arrested by Nehru, had Nehru and his Congress not promoted dubious puppet regimes in Kashmir and eroded its autonomy, we might not have lived to see the emergence of a regional conflict that nearly brought India and Pakistan to the brink of a nuclear war in 2002, a conflict that continues to brutalize millions of people in Kashmir and has given the region, controlled by half a million Indian soldiers, the distinction of being the most militarized area of the globe.

Strangely enough, in his telling of the reconstruction of Kashmir after its rebellion against Indian rule in 1989, Guha chooses not to cite Kashmiri accounts, not even the archives of the much-respected English-language newspaper the *Kashmir Times*—something that Indian scholar Sumantra Bose, who teaches at the London School of Economics, does very well in his two astute and nonnationalistic books, *The Challenge in Kashmir* (1997) and *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (2003). Indian writer Pankaj

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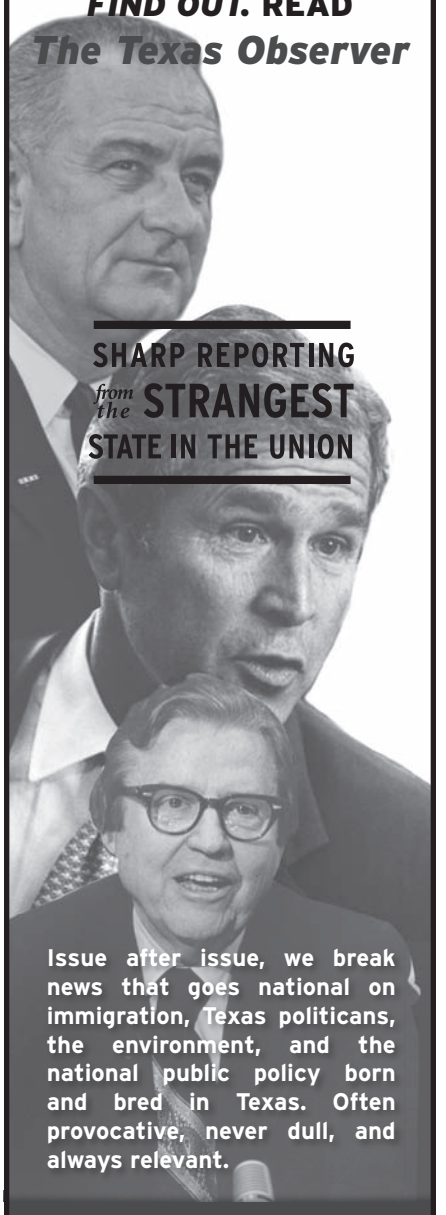

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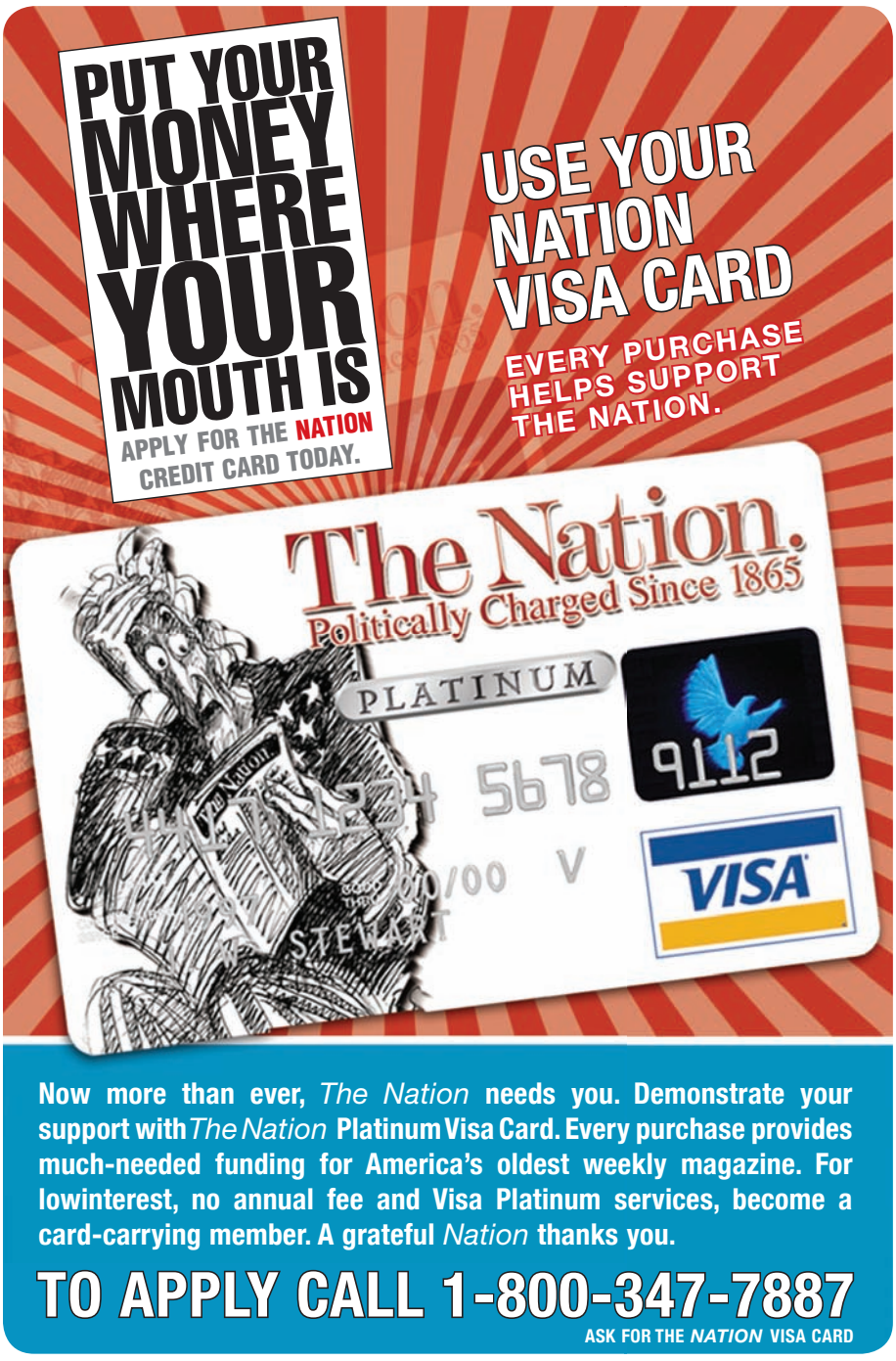
Mishra's essays on Kashmir, reproduced in his latest book, *Temptations of the West* (2006), are another important example of critical thinking and moral courage on the subject. Guha's narrative skills are also subdued when he describes the pro-independence protests in Kashmir that first occurred throughout 1990, when millions marched with memorandums to the UN offices and prayers to Sufi shrines. Instead, he offers a few newspaper headlines and discusses the separatist rebellion sparked by the denial of fair electoral democracy in terms of jihad. Similarly, while writing about the infamous massacre of thirty-five Sikhs in Kashmir on the eve of President Clinton's visit in March 2000, Guha again prefers the standard Delhi view and loses a chance to raise some important questions. The Indian government claimed to have arrested a "Pakistani militant" involved in the massacre. Why has there been no news of a trial, conviction or sentence? In a country where few calamities don't prompt a judicial inquiry, why was there no inquiry into the massacre of the Sikhs?

Yet Guha is passionate about the successes and failures of parliamentary democracy when he describes the spell of authoritarianism that Indira Gandhi engineered in 1975. Political opponents of Indira, led by veteran Gandhian leader Jayaprakash Narayan, had mobilized the disenchanted population and cornered her government with demonstrations and sit-ins. Indira was further annoyed by an adverse judgment in a technically weak case against her own membership of the Parliament, which if upheld in the Supreme Court could have forced her to resign. She responded by declaring a state of emergency and ruling by decree. Her policies included press censorship, the jailing of political opponents, forced vasectomies under the guise of family planning and the demolition of slums and poor neighborhoods in the name of progress and development. Most of the Indian intellectual and media elite are passionate about that time, maybe because it was the only time the might of the state threatened their comfortable existence. To sum up his account of the era, Guha quotes an anonymous obituary in the *Times of India*, announcing "the death of D.E.M. O'Cracy, mourned by his wife T. Ruth, his son, L.I. Bertie, and his daughters Faith, Hope, and Justice."

Democracy's Indian daughters have continued to mourn him, or at least worry about his health, throughout the three decades since Indira's Emergency. When it is not the season of colorful electoral bunting, outlandish posters and stump speeches from candidates ranging from imprisoned mafia dons to New Age gurus to eunuchs, the battle for social and political rights rages on almost every day in small and big protests, often unnoticed. A few hundred yards from the Parliament in New Delhi, on the sidewalk near the medieval observatory Jantar Mantar, one sees groups of petitioners and protesters hoping to be heard by indifferent politicians or the fickle media. The Indian government recently celebrated the United Nations' adoption of Gandhi's birthday as the International Day of Non-Violence, but India's new Gandhis mostly go unheard, their voices often drowned out by the roaring engines of luxury cars speeding past and the sirens of police cruisers.

On a hot afternoon in April 2006, India's beautiful people were busy attending India Fashion Week at a five-star hotel in south Delhi, while across town at Jantar Mantar, activists of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Struggle to Save the Narmada) were staging a Gandhian sit-in and hunger strike against a major dam project on the Narmada River in central and western India. Since the mid-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1980s, led by the much-respected activist Medha Patkar, the residents of the Narmada Valley have peacefully fought for the government to halt construction on dams along the course of the Narmada, whose swelling waters have submerged hundreds of villages and displaced thousands of people.

Nehru once called the dams "the temples of modern India." In 1954, as Guha reminds us, when Nehru inaugurated Bhakra Nangal, one of the first major dams in India, "he flicked on the switch of the powerhouse" as "Dakotas of the Indian air force dipped their wings overhead. Next he opened the sluice gates of the dam. Seeing the water coming toward them, the villagers downstream set off hundreds of home-made firecrackers." Nehru's temples of modern India, like those of ancient Hindu goddesses, now require human sacrifice. On the eighth day of the hunger strike at Jantar Mantar, hundreds of policemen attacked Patkar and the protesters, their batons drawing blood.

Among those also drawn to Jantar Mantar are the former untouchables who call themselves the Dalit, or Broken People. Dalits fashioned themselves into a potent force in Indian politics by forming their own political parties, tactically joining coalition governments. But the Broken People continue to be pounded upon—people like Bant Singh, a folk singer from Punjab who was maimed more than a year and a half ago for campaigning against the upper-caste men who raped his teenage daughter; or a journalist friend who was humiliated by the family of his Brahman girlfriend, despite his education and professional accomplishments, because he is a Dalit. Throughout his mammoth book Guha rightly laments the utter lack of biographies of various "provincial" political leaders, such as Kashmir's Sheikh Abdullah, Dalit leader Kanshi Ram and Sikh leader Master Tara Singh, who have affected the course of independent India. India might understand itself better if biographies of people like Bant Singh were available as well.

"They do not move to Chicago, they move to South Side; they do not move to New York, they move to Harlem," James Baldwin wrote in "Fifth Avenue, Uptown" of the final destinations of blacks migrating to New York City from the Deep South. When Muslims leave India's small towns and villages for New Delhi, they move to Okhla. New Delhi's largest Muslim ghetto, Okhla lies half an hour from Jantar Mantar, past shopping malls, international chain boutiques, banks, advertising offices and television studios. Life in Okhla is precarious, but after the destruction of the medieval Babri mosque by an extremist Hindu mob in December 1992 and the 2002 anti-Muslim pogrom in the western Indian state of Gujarat, it's one of the few places in New Delhi where Muslims feel safe.

In *The Clash Within*, a passionate look at the crisis of democracy and religious violence in India, Martha Nussbaum provides a detailed reconstruction of the genocide she says occurred in Gujarat. She shows that the violence had been planned well in advance, and she chronicles the failures of the state to prosecute the accused Hindu-right activists or their mentors in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which continues to control Gujarat under the rule of chief minister Narendra Modi. Religious tensions and the riots between the Hindu majority and the Muslim minority are a sad, old story in India. But the mass murder of Sikhs in New Delhi after Indira Gandhi's assassination and the Gujarat genocide are among the starkest examples of organized violence against any minority in India, events that have also been supported by politicians in the ruling parties.

Nussbaum says the main purpose of her book is to inform European and American readers about a "complex and chilling case of religious violence that does not fit some common stereotypes about the sources of religious violence in today's world." She does that well. She describes the Hindu right's admiration of Nazism and Fascism, noting the insertion in high school textbooks in Gujarat of passages like "Hitler lent dignity and prestige to the German government within a short time, establishing a strong administrative set-up." Apart from the lack of critical thinking in schools, she also sees "the lack of political organization along class and economic lines," the "effective grassroots organization throughout the state by the Hindu right," the sense that Gujarat's relatively better-off Muslims were "seen to take positions that Hindus might otherwise hold" as factors behind the violence. Nussbaum does take care to differentiate the Hindu right from Hinduism; she writes that "it was violence done by people who have hijacked a noble tradition for their own political and cultural ends." Such attention to context and Nussbaum's knowledge of Indian history and culture protects her account of religious violence in Gujarat from a "clash of civilizations" alarmism.

Nussbaum argues that for all its sectarian qualities, the violence of the Hindu right has some secular roots. Nehru's disdain of religion in public life backfired, she claims, and

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inadvertently helped the Hindu nationalists consolidate their power: "Nehru's feeling that religion was an embarrassment led him to devote too little attention to molding the aspects of human life that he associated with religion—emotion, rhetoric, the imaginative undergirding of a pluralistic civic culture—in such a way that civic culture could become a grassroots force for pluralism and respect rather than for fear and hatred."

Nussbaum, like many other commentators, sees hope in the resounding defeat of the right-wing BJP in the 2004 elections, a verdict she describes as "repudiation of Hindu homogeneity." In fact, she admits that the foremost reason for the BJP's defeat was economics. BJP's pre-election proclamation of economic optimism—"India Shining"—had angered the rural and urban poor, and they voted the BJP out. But despite the BJP's replacement by an officially secular Congress Party, economic discontent continues to simmer, especially in the large parts of central and western India where Maoist guerrillas have found support from landless peasants, and also in the information-technology hub of Andhra Pradesh, where thousands of farmers have committed suicide after failing to pay their debts. Fault lines created by caste and development endure, and the troubling questions of Kashmir and India's northeastern states continue to affect millions of lives every day.

It is these troubles, some signs of which are often visible at Jantar Mantar, that make Guha temper his final verdict on Indian democracy. "Is India a proper or a sham democracy?" he asks. For an answer he borrows the response that the Bollywood comedian Johnny Walker offers again and again to many reel-life questions: *Phipty-phipty*. Yes, fifty-fifty. ■

ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES

Raymond Queneau and friends celebrate his *Exercises in Style*.

Playtime

by MARK POLIZZOTTI

Throw any label at him that you want—writer's writer, literary eccentric, the last of the great polymaths—and Raymond Queneau will dodge it. A novelist, poet, mathematician and linguistic theorist, retiring in demeanor yet one of French literature's most influential *éminences*, Queneau began his career with a brief and tumultuous passage through Surrealism and devoted the final decade of his life to the experimental literary-scientific collective Oulipo (*Ouvroir de littérature potentielle*, or Workshop of Potential Literature), which he co-founded. Along the way he produced an *oeuvre*, as Jordan Stump rightly notes in his introduction to *Letters, Numbers, Forms*, the first selection in English of Queneau's essays, that is "among the smartest and most restless in all of recent literature." Despite Queneau's rarefied affiliations, however, his writing is not just for the happy few. The novel *Zazie in the Metro* (1959) has sold more than half a million copies since publication and served as the basis for Louis Malle's classic film, and his tongue-in-cheek primer *Exercises in Style*, which reads like a novel written by Strunk

Letters, Numbers, Forms
Essays, 1928–70.
By Raymond Queneau.
Translated by Jordan Stump.
Illinois. 251 pp. $45.

Mark Polizzotti is director of publications and intellectual property at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. His most recent books include a monograph on Luis Buñuel's Los Olvidados *(British Film Institute) and* Bob Dylan's Highway 61 Revisited *(Continuum). A revised edition of his biography of André Breton,* Revolution of the Mind, *is due out from Black Widow Press.*

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and White on acid, has been continuously in print since 1947. Queneau was an experimentalist who did not talk down to his audience.

Raymond Queneau was born in Normandy in 1903, and had just completed his studies in philosophy at the Sorbonne when André Breton published the *Manifesto of Surrealism* of 1924. He soon joined the Surrealists and began publishing in their magazine: the first of these writings, a dream narrative that begins with the dreamer wondering what the English slang term is for "urinal," already suggests Queneau's lifelong enthusiasm for linguistic permutations; the last, a 1928 review of a Chirico exhibit in which he dismisses the painter as an "appalling buffoon," among other things, shows an equally abiding talent for invective. But Queneau's association with Surrealism was not to outlast the decade. In 1929, having recently married Janine Kahn, Breton's sister-in-law, Queneau found himself on the opposite side of the family feud when André and Simone Breton divorced.

Queneau's differences with Breton extended beyond broken family ties, of course. From the start, profound divergences in attitude and interests placed Queneau in Surrealism's dissident camp. His love of linguistic fancy was not shared by Breton, for whom, as one critic put it, "language was precisely not a game," and his aptitude in mathematics and the hard sciences aroused the distrust of the technophobic Surrealist leader and put Breton's pretensions of erudition to shame. Queneau also set himself apart by rejecting such Surrealist mainstays as automatic writing and by practicing an iconoclastic but ultimately life-affirming sense of humor that had little to do with the nihilistic, cruelly gravid "black humor" promoted by the group. He later attacked the whole concept of black humor as nothing more than "a ready excuse" for turpitude and cowardice: "If they commit a dirty trick, they do it in the spirit of humor, and of course if it's meant in the spirit of humor, we can only bow down before it...but they, the humorists, never laugh at themselves.... The humorist can't tolerate not being tolerated; a burst of laughter wounds him to the very core of his seriosity." In 1930 Queneau sealed his self-exclusion by contributing to the anti-Breton broadside *A Corpse*, in which he portrayed his former friend with "a finger up his asshole" signing a pact with the Devil.

Given such invective and bile, one wonders what could possibly have drawn Queneau to Surrealism in the first place. One attraction seems to have been fellowship. Queneau was by his own admission "exceed-

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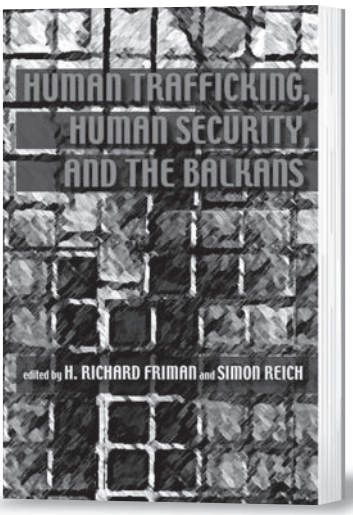

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ingly shy" and must have felt a rare sense of belonging among the Surrealist oddballs—though even here he seems to have preferred the gaggle of eccentrics (such as Jacques Prévert and Yves Tanguy) who shared a studio in Montparnasse over the comparatively orthodox clan that gathered uptown in Breton's Montmartre neighborhood. Whatever the case, his split from Surrealism left him feeling "guilty and pointless," and he spent the next several years hiding out at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The result was a voluminous unpublished study of "literary madmen" and, in 1937, the vitriolic roman à clef *Odile*, a thinly veiled satire of his time among the Surrealists. Only after the war did the antagonism between Queneau and Breton subside, as the two men, who like the rest of the world had bigger grievances to nurture, re-established tentatively amicable relations.

Queneau said that a writer is like a rat who builds the maze from which he sets out to escape.

The postwar years found Queneau devoting his attention to Alfred Jarry's pataphysics, the "science of imaginary solutions," before joining mathematician François Le Lionnais in 1960 to form Oulipo. In an early lecture, Queneau defined Oulipo's goal as being "to offer writers new 'structures,' of a mathematical nature, and also to invent new artificial or mechanical procedures that might contribute to literary activity: encouragements for inspiration, so to speak, or else, in a way, aids to creativity." In opposition to what it considered the illusory freedom peddled by Surrealism and other avant-gardes, Oulipo sought to outwit the restrictions inherent in language by substituting constraints of its own devising. As Queneau famously put it, "An Oulipian writer is a rat who himself builds the maze from which he sets out to escape."

These constraints range from the fairly straightforward (such as the procedure known as N+7, a grown-up's version of Mad Libs in which every noun of a given text is replaced by the seventh noun following it in the dictionary) to more challenging forms such as the lipogram, which eliminates all words containing a chosen letter—no doubt the most famous modern example being Georges Perec's 300-page novel *La Disparition* (A Void), written entirely without the letter e. Other Oulipian creative aids include univocalism (the lipogram's mirror image, in which only one vowel is used) and seemingly countless varieties of transposition and transformation, among them the "translation" of a fourteen-line sonnet into a fifteen-line poem, still in iambic pentameter and without a word being added. (The excellent *Oulipo Compendium*, edited by Harry Mathews and Alastair Brotchie, teems with such examples.) While to some this might seem like mere thumb-twiddling, the larger implication of removing writing from the realm of literary inspiration is that it widens our mental parameters, rejuvenating thought by reinvigorating the means of expressing that thought.

Indeed, a number of Queneau's essays from as early as the 1930s return insistently to the need for recalibrating the French tongue. His most sustained arguments on the subject favor everyday oral speech over stilted written language and call for a radically new form of spelling based on real-life phonetics—the desired result being "a modern *written* French…corresponding to the language as it's actually spoken." That statement was made in 1937, when the divide between written and spoken usage, like that between educated and uneducated social strata, was much more pronounced than it is today. From among the few illustrations available at the time, Queneau cited the "oral style" evident in Céline's *Journey to the End of the Night* and in certain popular songs: such works, he contended, pointed the way to a vital linguistic revolution, one that would take its cue from actual usage rather than from the dust-laden *ars rhetorica* imposed by the Académie Française. "The most healthy (and sanitary) task of an ideal Academy would be not to codify syntactic forms or lexicological innovations, but to pave the way for the death of our current sclerotic French," he was still saying a decade later.

Queneau turned his own writings into a lab for his experiments, and many of them are still exhilaratingly funny. *Zazie in the Metro*, for instance, begins with the puzzling vocable "Howcanaystinksotho," then goes on to present a barrage of compounds, bastardized spellings, changes in syntactic register and other liberties that freshen, rather than obscure, the slim plot. (Admittedly, and despite Barbara Wright's heroic translation, the humor of it comes through much more sharply in the original.) Such verbal contortions also account for the lasting appeal of *Exercises in Style*, which describes the same banal incident on a bus ninety-nine times over, in modes ranging from tabloid-speak to a classical sonnet to a three-act play. The narrator of the chapter "Notation," for instance, begins his tale unassumingly: "In the S bus, in the rush hour. A chap of about 26, felt hat with a cord instead of a ribbon, neck too long, as if someone's been having a tug-of-war with it." Not surprisingly, the narrator of "Reactionary" feels compelled to add his two cents: "Naturally the bus was pretty well full and the conductor was surly. You will find the cause of these things in the 8-hour day and the nationalisation schemes. And then the French lack organisation and a sense of their civic duties." There's also a telegraphic version ("Bus Crowded Stop Yngman Longneck Plaitencircled Hat") and one specifically geared "For ze Frrensh." The sheer breadth of expression and suggestion Queneau teases out of this single inane anecdote is dizzying and anticipates the verbal gamesmanship of Oulipian writers such as Perec, Mathews and Italo Calvino.

Unfortunately, Queneau's verbal play, so central to many of his ruminations, is also the aspect that comes through least successfully in the present collection. Queneau would try the skills of any translator. In addition to treating words like Silly Putty, he had an ear for capturing language as it flew spontaneously from people's mouths: whether these phrases are reproduced in standard spelling or in the phonetic variety he advocated, one can hear them in his retelling as surely as if one were standing in a Parisian bar or market stall. Jordan Stump does a fine job of bringing Queneau's discursive prose into clear and natural English, but he generally comes up short when trying to replicate the author's transcriptions of the demotic idiom. Although he tries gamely to recreate suitably colloquial English equivalents, he doesn't demonstrate Queneau's intuitive grasp of the cadences, elisions and contractions that characterize the spoken tongue. More often than not, his "daily patter" falls flat, when it isn't so literally rendered as to flirt with gibberish ("Time! C'mon! You think I have any, me, to think about that stuff!"). Granted, we are dealing here with the very heart of what makes a given language unique. But rather than trying to convey Queneau's examples with a kind of Frenglish that exists nowhere in speech or writing, the translator might have done better to mine the rich American idiomatic tradition for more convincing cues.

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The irony is that by the late 1960s, even Queneau had come to realize that the gash between spoken and written French had gone a long way toward suturing itself—not with new spellings patterned after street talk but through the relative homogenization of class and regional dialects brought about by the great equalizer, television. It was an outcome he had not predicted, and though in some ways it vindicated his original thesis, he could not help greeting the phenomenon with resigned ambivalence. "Through repeated exposure to other versions of themselves on the small screen…the French people have begun to pay close attention to the way they speak," he wrote in 1970. "If things continue as they're currently going, a more or less homogenous French language will be spoken from Lake Chad to the banks of the Saint-Laurent—a somewhat impoverished French, but nevertheless one with a new lease on life, as they say."

This is the author's concluding statement in this volume, and it raises an interesting question: what would Queneau, who died in 1976, have made of more recent techno-linguistic phenomena, such as that truncated bane of parents and educators, IM-speak? Is there that much of a gulf between *Zazie*'s verbal rebuses or Perec's e-less *La Disparition* and such widespread transcriptions as "cu," "u2" and "LMAO"—talk about your lipograms! It's almost as if Queneau's revolution had finally taken place, some seventy years after its most ardent proponent had first imagined its dimensions and several decades after he had essentially given it up for lost. ■

News From Nowhere

by JEFF CHANG

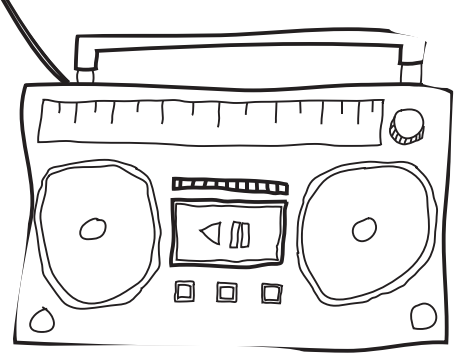
When she debuted in 2005 with *Arular*, critics couldn't get over the package: the brown doe eyes, the cover model looks, the bracingly danceable music—not to mention the lyrics about war, terror and poverty. Her name—Mathangi "Maya" Arulpragasam, better known as the rapper M.I.A.—was everywhere. Her second album, *Kala*, has stirred a small backlash among critics who admit they don't know what she is trying to say. That's hardly her fault. *Kala* shows she is one of the most important musical artists of the decade.

REUTERS

M.I.A. in concert at the 2007 Rock-en-Seine Festival

Children—brown-skinned children from Liberia, India, Jamaica and Baltimore, the post-hip-hop nationals of what M.I.A. calls World Town—climb all over the grooves of *Kala*. Their noise becomes part of the record's texture: they shriek in delight, laugh and dance; they kick rhymes; they cock guns. Not unlike the fourth season of HBO's hit *The Wire*, *Kala* explores poverty, violence and globalization through the eyes of children left behind. M.I.A.'s London refugee crew sling sugar water, bootleg CDs and color TVs to stay ahead of Border and Immigration, send remittances back to Asia or Africa and survive another day while their parents pray they become accountants. "Why has everyone got hustle on their mind?" she asks.

On the opener, "Bamboo Banga," a nod to Darkroom Productions' Baltimore street anthem "Bmore Banga," she sets up an image of a Hummer speeding across the desert with a quote from the Modern Lovers' "Roadrunner": "Roadrunner road-



Jeff Chang is editor of Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip-Hop *and author of* Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation.

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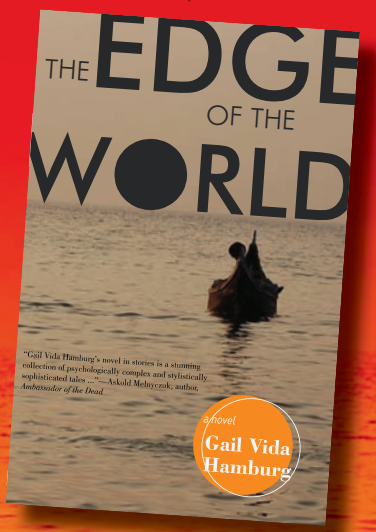

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runner/Going hundred miles per hour/With your radio on." For Jonathan Richman, it was the sound of postwar innocence, Kerouac in love with the modern world and the open road. For M.I.A., it's the sound of Green Zone excess, First World abandonment, white flight on wheels. She roll-calls the planet of slums: Somalia, Angola, Ghana, India, Sri Lanka and Burma. "Now I'm sittin' down chillin' on some gunpowder/Strike match, light fire," she raps. "M.I.A. coming back with power power." Suddenly the setting isn't the desert; it's your country—a Lou Dobbs nightmare, the future sheathed in dark skin come home to your streets. "I'm a roadrunner," she sings. "I'm a world runner."

Much has been made of Arulpragasam's revolutionary birthright: her estranged father is a founding member of a Sri Lankan Tamil minority resistance group, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (or EROS, a name that becomes ironic given the way Maya's art has been seen through the frames of sex and violence). EROS was responsible for a number of bombings and kidnappings in Sri Lanka in the 1980s and had links with the PLO, from whom her father reportedly learned how to devise explosives. He later became a member of the militant Tamil Tigers, whose violent tactics in their fight for a separate Tamil state (including suicide bombings) led the State Department to declare them a terrorist organization. His name, Arul Pragasam, inspired the title of her astonishing 2005 debut.

But perhaps not enough has been made of the fallout from that revolution. Arulpragasam's early childhood was one of perpetual motion. Soon after she was born her family moved from Hounslow, London, back to Sri Lanka, just as the island's ethnic tensions descended into civil warfare. Her father left the household to serve the resistance; she has never lived with him. Sometimes her mother booked her to dance at parties, where she was paid in food. The music she performed to—a Bollywood disco tune called "Jimmy Aaja"—turns up on *Kala*, named in tribute to her mother, who secured their passage out of Sri Lanka to an Indian refugee camp. They then returned to England, where Maya's mother sewed clothes to support her three children.

Raised in the South London council estates, England's postwar housing projects, the revolutionary's daughter listened with a schoolgirl's concentration to a radio tuned to Madonna and Bananarama. One day it was stolen by estate boys. Suddenly the Public Enemy she heard playing from other apartments seemed not only crucial to survival but inviting. She has said that hip-hop—the arts movement that grew from the find-and-use, cut-and-paste pastimes of socially and politically abandoned city kids—made her feel connected to England and the wider world for the first time.

First as a visual artist, then as a rapper and musician, M.I.A. courted controversy. As a 1998 grad of hipster factory St. Martin's College of Art and Design, M.I.A. stenciled tigers and armed militants onto her canvases, not unlike the way Joe Strummer, Mick Jones and Paul Simonon of the Clash had stenciled Rastafarian slogans onto their jumpsuits a generation before. She soon discovered the Roland MC-505 Groovebox synthesizer/drum machine and almost instantly began making tunes like "Galang," whose sheer exuberance made it one of the most infectious songs of the '90s. The schoolgirl chants, crashing dancehall-style percussion and Clash and Hendrix references made it easier to digest (if not ignore) messages like "They say… work is gonna save you/Pray and you'll pull through/Suck-a-dick'll help you." On *Arular*, she adopted the squiggly minimalism of Virginia hip-hop, the screechy braking beats of East London grime, the two-clap bounce of Puerto Rican reggaeton, the blazoning bass thrusts of Brazilian baile funk and the skittery percolations of Baltimore club to back fist-pumping slogans like "Pull up the people, pull up the poor" and "I got the bombs to make you blow." On "Sunshowers," she shouted-out the PLO.

While her enthusiasm for emerging Third World club sounds made First World clubsters swoon with jungle fever, critics—mostly male—asked what a St. Martin's grad was doing playing with fire in a post 9/11 world. They complained that her politics didn't reveal enough program, as if artistry and policy were the same thing. (Is Bono a better artist for working with Jeffrey Sachs? Are Sachs's politics better for working with Bono?) They accused her of hipster imperialism. No less a critic than Simon Reynolds, author of the seminal *Rip It Up and Start Again*, charged, "*Arular*, strictly speaking, comes from nowhere."

But perhaps M.I.A.'s "nowhere" was really everywhere—or, to be specific, everywhere but the First World's self-regarding "here." At the time of the album's release, she said she felt homeless—and that she hoped the music might be a way home. She told one interviewer, "My survival technique in Britain was to forget Sri Lanka—completely—and block it out of my mind.

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Then I thought, 'I know the other side, I've lived through that for 10 years, and I have to speak for them at some point.'" She also complained about the insularity of her British Sri Lankan community: "It's obvious I care about where I came from. It's obvious I'm fucking brown. I don't have to say it again and again, underline it and talk to the people within the circle when it is about getting out there."

Like writers Junot Díaz, Edwidge Danticat and Rattawut Lapcharoensap, artists Nadine Robinson and Julie Mehretu, and cartoonists Marjane Satrapi, Adrian Tomine and Lalo Alcaraz, she found herself caught between roots and a desire for rootlessness, communitarian uplift and mainstream success, freedom and responsibility, exile and return. The languages of salad-bowl multiculturalism and authenticity-obsessed pop criticism (which labels everything not from "here" as "world music") couldn't locate M.I.A. But pop culture could.

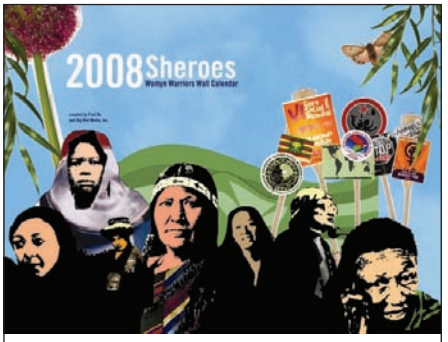
On *Arular*, she broadcast the sound of those with one foot in the First World door, the other in a Fourth World gutter, where the Notorious B.I.G.'s "Big Poppa," Chaka Demus and Pliers' "Bam Bam," New Order's "Blue Monday," Basement Bhangra, Black Francis and Bobby Friction and Nihal are equal touchstones. Her spray-can and stencil art featured images of young gunmen flashing peace signs or bereted, bare-kneed Third World female soldiers marching en masse. But those images—like *Arular*'s words and sounds—weren't just about war, sex and revolution; they were about what it means to consume those ideas. Against a media flow that suppresses the ugliness of reality and fixes beauty to consumption, M.I.A. forces a conversation about how the majority live. She closes the distance between "here" and everywhere else.

In trying to synthesize realities, *Kala* made stunning connections. Some of this was accidental. After *Arular*, M.I.A. signed with media giant Interscope, home to 50 Cent and Eminem. She rented an apartment in Brooklyn and prepared to record her second album with superstars Timbaland, Lil Jon and Akon, among others. Had everything gone as planned, *Kala* would have been a capital-P pop album. But visa problems, probably related to her father's affiliations and her own art and lyrics, delayed her entry to the United States. In a sense, *Kala* is what happens when antiterror hysteria touches the artistic soul.

Literally homeless, she traveled to Liberia, India, Angola, Trinidad and Jamaica, and met the children who shaped the record, holding recording sessions as she went and collecting the noises, movements and rhythms of those moments into often sublime songs. Youth whistles, cheers, interjections and cries drive singles like "Boyz" and "Bird Flu," which, in their boldly antisubcultural use of, say, Hindu dhol drumming, Trinidadian chutney-soca and New York hip-hop, deliriously suggest a new kind of everywhere.

In the videos, hundreds of boys dance—including Jamaican dancehall kings like Spikes and Sponge Bob and scores of Indian villagers in oversized T-shirts screened with M.I.A.'s ironic antislogans Buy All Means Necessary and It Takes Immigration of Millions to Hold Us Back, jokey reversals of Boogie Down Productions' *By All Means Necessary* and Public Enemy's *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back*. Boys move ecstatically in choreographed unison. "How many no money boys are rowdy?/How many start a war?" M.I.A. shouts above the pandemonium. She also sees that their competitiveness—an alternative to military conformity and enforced discipline—has its own trap doors. "Oh gosh, it's the new warlord," she remarks with ambivalence.

The album's masterpiece, "Paper Planes,"



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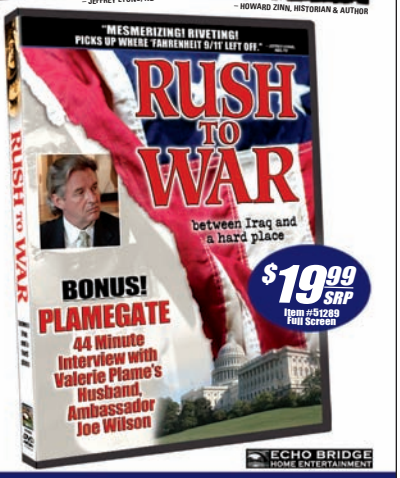
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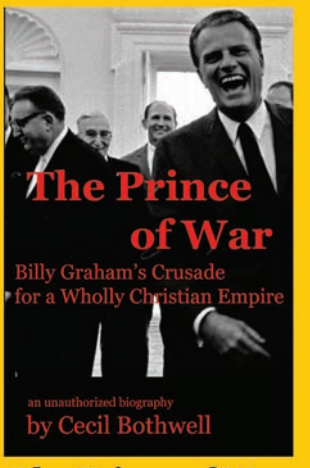

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takes Wreckx-N-Effect's booty-call anthem "Rump Shaker" and replaces the "zoom-zoom" and "pum-pum" lyrics with gunshots and a cash register, linking everyday misogyny with the violence of globalization. In her rap, she adopts the pirate outlook of the corner boy, walking through a sonicscape where Mick Jones's tremoloed guitar lick evokes the ruins of American shock-doctrine projects from Baltimore to Baghdad. Its core sample comes from the Clash's "Straight to Hell," in which a Vietnam GI coldly dismisses an Amerasian war orphan's plea to be brought to the United States, leaving the boy exiled from both Main Street and the rice field.

If rootlessness is the defining condition of the planet of slums, then what does it mean for art to come home? *Kala*'s answers—like all great "political" art—cannot be any more than provisional. But now, at least, no longer running to or from someone else's utopia, M.I.A. is behind the wheel, switching the lost youth of the Fourth World into the network society, her radio on. ■

Events

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■ Join us to honor the life and enduring contribution of Moe Fishman, the voice of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Music, speakers, memories, inspiration and refreshments. All are invited. Feel free to bring copies of memorabilia, photographs, letters and poetry to add to a timeline banner of Moe's life. Saturday, November 10, 10:30 AM. Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South. Accessible entrance on Thompson Street. In Moe's memory, friends and family of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are organizing to carry Moe's activist vision to future generations. If you would like to be part of Friends and Family or would like information about the memorial, call (212) 989-8624.

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Guantánamo Just Another US Base!

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Book Launch

■ *Reclaiming Marx's "Capital": A Refutation of the Myth of Inconsistency* by Andrew Kliman (Lexington Books, 2007). Speakers: Stanley Aronowitz, Bertell Ollman, Rick Wolff and the author. Thursday, November 8, 7 PM, at CUNY Grad Center, 365 Fifth Avenue, Sociology Lounge, Room 6112. Book available at discount. Sponsor: The New SPACE (School for Pluralistic Anti-Capitalist Education), (800) 377-6183 or new-space@mutualaid.org. For this and other New SPACE classes and events, visit http://new-space.mahost.org. Book info: www.akliman.squarespace.com/reclaiming. "Tremendously powerful refutation of all those smart ass economist dude arguments that 'Marx is inconsistent'"—Glenn Rikowski, education theorist. "An important book.... Kliman must be thanked"—Michael Roberts, marxist.com. "A strong case to be considered the most compelling and consistent interpretation of *Capital*"—Joseph Choonara, International Socialism. "Rescues Marx from the Marxists"—Alan Freeman.

Daoud Kuttab & J.J. Goldberg On Prospects for Middle East Peace

■ Brooklyn For Peace (formerly Brooklyn Parents for Peace) presents: Palestinian and American journalists discuss prospects for Middle East peace and expectations for the US-initiated Annapolis conference. Daoud Kuttab, award-winning Palestinian journalist and director of the Modern Media Institute at Al Quds University, Ramallah, as well as a visiting professor at Princeton; and J.J. Goldberg, editor in chief of *The Forward*. Moderator: Joshua Friedman. Q&A following the panel. Sunday, November 18, 3 to 5 PM. St. Francis College, 180 Remsen Street, Brooklyn Heights. For information: (718) 624-5921 or www.brooklynpeace.org.

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A NEW *NATION* UTAH YAHOO GROUP has been created at http://groups.yahoo.com/group/thenationutah. To join contact Sam Evans, (801) 791-8089 or sameritech@yahoo.com.

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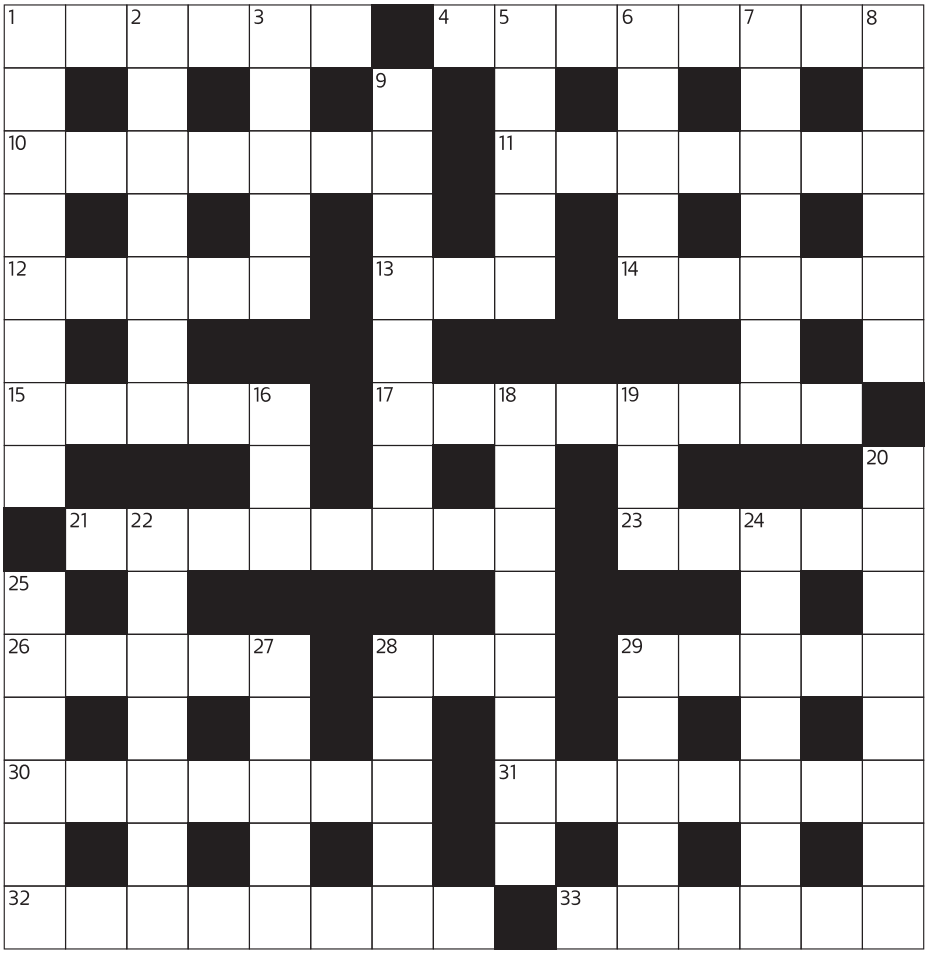
Puzzle No. 3103

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Poster Norman, possibly. (6)

4 Though good on a salad, getting one down could be a real rating! (8)

10 Such steersmen seemed to be always singing, according to G and S, but got along badly, with a way to act inside. (7)

11 Possibly come in, getting to the point in old age. (7)

12, 13 and **14** Supposedly unlucky to find a trio positioned for a tennis game. (5,2,1,5)

15 Crates often say this and this, to get finished. (3,2)

17 Lasts longer and does what one doesn't want to do with a welcome. (8)

21 They look the same but have different meanings, being church music, off key, with an awful "moo" in it. (8)

23 Come in and show me what a computer key commands. (5)

26 A real card to snip into pieces. (3-2)

28 Sass, as they say, might stick out on your face. (3)

29 Objectively, I get into what the dentist might give and find it's just play for some. (5)

30 Rues the last problem about people. (7)

31 A wild wave is a model shiner to your French friend. (7)

32 See 6 down

33 Where something is about to happen, offending endlessly! (6)

DOWN

1 Like the pen to the sword, a foreign plane their sort produced. (8)

2 Re doing wrong, didn't pay attention. (7)

3 What a runaway pair might do as part of the hotel opening. (5)

5 Dance with spirit, to a degree. (5)

6, 19 and **32** across Gale on the portions of a ewe's mate that suggest what they had to do to break into the castle. (5,3,8)

7 With no motion, try "line" for a change. (7)

8 The old writer shows unusual ego to the end! (6)

9 What the goverment gets from me (on nothing but my makeup) is an exact science. (8)

16 You won't find an amateur here in favor of anything. (3)

18 Drinkers throw up, and stop up everything! (8)

19 See 6

20 You might be doing it to your heart, to tell the truth. (8)

22 Make a choice when I finish up silently, which should prove best. (7)

24 You might get to pit many against which some players like to beat. (7)

25 Bunthorne suggested putting an eyeglass here. (6)

27 One can't do without eucalyptus, and you'll find Ma's companion around it. (5)

28 Composer putting out a to-do memo, one hears. (5)

29 Describing a billy goat of folklore, or a prickly personality. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3102

M	A	N	T	E	L	P	I	E	C	E	S			
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